FORGOTTEN SONS OF INDIA

BY

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

This book consists of notes made out by me for the use of the Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Enquiry Committee appointed by the Government of Madras in November 1946. I was Secretary to the Committee from 2-11-1946 to 26-5-1947. On my reversion to the Police, my friend Dr. A. Ayyappan, a member of the Committee was appointed Secretary. He made out the report which has been published by the Government of Madras.

Dr. Ayyappan has adopted the bulk of my notes on the Tribes which is the 2nd part of this book. He has also given a brief account of my views on the problem which is the 3rd part. He has ommitted the first part.

Since I consider that the account of the tribes will be more intelligible in the light of what I say in my part I, and that the three parts together will make a more complete account of the Tribes and their problems, I sought the permission of the Government to publish my notes. This was accorded in Home Department G. O. R. No. 1461, dated 1-6-1948.

I had the privilege of discussing certain academic points with Dr. Ayyappan who is a well known Anthropologist. His references in his report to my opinion and his adoption of the greater part of the materials put up by me, give me the confidence that my notes are worthy of consideration and therefore fit to be presented to the public. I am grateful to him for this.

My thanks are especially due to my friend Sri T. K. T. N. R. Thathacharya, B.A., B.L., M.L.A., who was a member of this Committee. His genial companionship inspired me to undertake the writing of these notes, which I did in the last fortnight of my Secretaryship. He, very kindly and patiently went through these notes, as they were being written and encouraged me. But for him I would not have completed them.

In these notes I have expressed views which are not in conformity with accepted theories. My desire is only that readers may consider yet another view in regard to this problem of national importance – especially when that view, in however slender a fashion, suggests an underlying unity in the seeming diversities of our nation's make-up.

These are mere notes. I ask the reader to bear with me whenever he finds, whilst reading this, that it lacks the finish of a well edited thesis.

V. Subbarayan.

INTRODUCTION

The first three paras of the G. O. No. Ms. 2516, Public (Political) dated 19th November 1946 appointing the Committee prescribes the work to be done by the Committee.

The Committee is to enquire into the material conditions of the aboriginal tribes living in the Madras Province. The G. O. does not provide a ready list of the so-called aboriginal tribes. From the reference made to the Madugole and other Agencies in para 1 of the G. O., it may be taken that the Government have in their view the tribes residing in the partially excluded areas and other tribes elsewhere in the Province who have been considered in the past for purposes of similar exclusion or other especial treatment. The papers leading up to the constitution of this Committee and other records concerning the partially excluded areas called 'agencies' show that :—

1. Certain tribes and communities living in hills and forests, now in a primitive state of civilisation and separated socially and culturally from the general body-politic have been a problem to the provincial Government as well as to the Central Government, for quite a long time now.

2. The serious attention of the Governments aforesaid, to these tribes was actually invited by "rebellious activities" on the part of the tribes in the past. The "rebellions" were crushed, but, the tribesmen have continued to remain aloof from the normal socio-economic fabric of the Province.

3. Anthropological studies had been undertaken in the past at the instance of the Madras Government and other Governments (including Indian States) in their respective dominions.

4. The Government of India had considered it necessary to provide a different kind of administration in respect of certain tribes and, therefore, created the Scheduled Districts of the olden days followed by the present Partially Excluded Areas, called 'Agencies'. The problem had been

considered by the Joint Parliamentary Committee and provision had been made in the Constitution Act of 1935 for such exclusion.

5. During such consideration, many more tribes and areas than are now partially or fully excluded had been reviewed, but had been saved from exclusion by the mere fact that they were so situated that their exclusion would lead to administrative difficulties.

6. However, the Government of Madras had desired to watch the welfare of the tribes so omitted and had prescribed annual reports on their welfare by the Collectors of the districts in which the tribes live.

From the above, it may be considered that the 'aboriginal tribes' in the G. O. comprehends:—

(1) the tribes or communities living in the partially excluded areas and

(2) the tribes that were considered primitive or aboriginal living in other districts.

In regard to the latter, it is not clear who all may be included. In G. O. No. 51 Public, dated 8-1-1937, the Government of Madras had given a list of tribes inside and outside the agencies and called for reports on them. In the same G. O. they had asked Collectors of some districts to report on any other tribes that deserved to be treated as 'aboriginal or backward'. Additions to the list of 1937 were made on such reports from time to time.

The word 'backward' adds a new significance to the problem. 'Aboriginal' apparently does not adequately or properly describe the tribes or communities that stand in need of special treatment. Besides, certain tribes, not considered aboriginal, are visibly backward. The anthropological and linguistic surveys, carried out in the past and in the present throughout India, have not satisfactorily established who the 'aboriginals' are. The anthropological studies made over and over again in the past by experts and specialists, the Census reports and returns and the linguistic survey of India contain ample material about the various tribes. Yet, all these are not

very clear in the matter of defining and classifying particular tribes as 'aboriginals'. It may be taken that the Government have in their view, therefore, not the 'aborigine' who is the academic subject of anthropologists but the backward classes in the Province who live in a primitive state, whether or not, they may be called 'aboriginals'.

The Committee has therefore, to consider a whole list of tribes and classes gathered from all these sources. I have selected the undermentioned tribes as fit subjects for the Committee's enquiry. In the succeeding chapters, I shall give an account of these tribes and state the problem in regard to them.

Many high authorities have held that these 'tribes' are to be regarded as 'being in the nursery', that contacts with plainsmen have created the aboriginal problem, that but for this contact they would be happy and independent, that the common law is unsuited to them, that they are unfit for managing their own local affairs and that the Government should now play the 'parent' and protect them from outside interference and exploitation.

In the next chapter, I give my view on this question of 'aboriginals' - not with a view to enter the lists against anthropological controversialists but to emphasise the view that the mere academic issue should not tempt us into a "Laissez Faire" attitude of perpetuating poverty and squalor, ignorance and superstition. Much has been said about preservation of aboriginal culture. We may take stock of what culture there is and also of what there is which is not culture. Our recommendations should be towards ensuring that these 'forgotten Sons' of our land - as I shall show - are not held up any more as museum shows for the entertainment of tourists and sight-seers and that we do not indulge our snobbishness any more and that we do not any longer amuse ourselves over the sufferings of the blood of our blood.

In sub para C of para 2 of the G. O. we have been directed to consider and report on the Criminal Tribes Act. This adds a new phase to our enquiry. The tribes notified under Criminal Tribes Act in this province are not all of them among the tribes generally referred to as 'aboriginals'. They are all certainly backward and in many cases they are more unfortunate than their brethren on the hills.

NAME OF THE TRIBE.	DISTRICT IN WHICH FOUND.
Koya. Reddi.	Koya Nadu - Godavari
Bagata. Konda Dora. Gadaba. Khond. Muka Dora. Poroja. Kotia. Dhulia Ghasi. Domba. Paidi. Valmiki. Kammari. Oja. Mulia. Oginbe. Rona.	Bagata Nadu - Vizagapatam.
Jatapu. Sora.	Jakara Nadu. Vizagapatam.
Kurichan. Paniyan. Adiyan. Eranadan. Mavilan. Vettuvan. Karimpalan. Kattu Nayakan.	Kerala - Malabar.

Male Kudiya. Kudubi. Mahratti. Koraga.	South - Kanara.
Toda. Kota. Kurumba. Irula. Sholaga. Urali.	Nilgiris.
Malasar. Muduvar. Kadar. Pulayar. Eravalar.	Anamalais.
Paliyan. Mannan.	Madura.
Malaiyalee.	Salem North Arcot, South Arcot and Tiruchirapalli.
Chenchu.	Kurnool and Guntur.
Enadi - Irula.	Chittoor, Chingleput, South Arcot, North Arcot, Nellore and Guntur.
Korava.	Throughout the Province.
Lambadi.	Throughout the Province.
Kallar - Maravar.	Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly.

PART I

Forgotten Sons of India

The word "Aboriginal" and its much quoted Indian transliteration "Adivasi" both mean the earliest dwellers. This name is applied in modern times to many communities living in a tribal state and in a primitive state of civilization in the mountainous tracts of our land.

These communities have lived in their mountain homes seemingly unconcerned with and, till recently, unaffected by the great political upheavals that have taken place in the past few centuries in the plains below. In fact, their seclusion in the hills has been so rigid that they have seemed to belong to a race or races other than the average Hindu of the plains. But, on the slopes and the foot of the hills, some contacts appear to have been inevitable and in these regions the inhabitants are seen living in a state, intermediate between the regular hillman's life and the life of the plains.

The theory of Invasions and submersions :

Many thinkers and writers see in this a process, even now active, of a dominant race of new comers encroaching upon the possessions of pre-historic races and driving them into the jungles and hills - a process more or less on the analogy of the white settler in America or Australia. An "Aryan race" theory has been evolved and to fill in the blanks inevitably left by that theory. Dravidian, Kolarian and other race theories have been propounded. The Kiraata, Nishaada, Naaga, Asura etc., mentioned in the samskrit books are specified as the autochthons, subjugated by the dominant Hindus who usurped the plains. The word "Arya" in the classics has been taken to connote a race. Lack of fervour has not been the weakness of these theorists. They have in fact amassed an astounding volume of material about the tribes and communities in India. They have been generally unfortunate in their anthropometric trials - only a few cases like the Kadar of Anamala, Paniyan of Kerala and the Sora of Vizag being of any value as indications of a submerged race. Even here, the Kadar points to a 'Negrito' type, the Paniyan to an African and the Sora to the so called Munda.

Linguistic evidence.

Scope for furtherance of these theories has been afforded by the Linguistic Survey of India, a monumental work, revealing the existence of a hundred and seventynine languages and 544 dialects spoken in the country. This large number however, can be assorted into 3 main groups as far as the main-land of India is concerned. The three alone count as far as this Province is concerned. These are (1) The Aryan Group, (2) The Dravidian Group and (3) The Munda Branch of the Austric Families. The Tibeto-Burman and the Siamese-Chinese Groups which are also included in that Survey affect only the Himalayan fringes and the eastern borders of Assam. It may be easily asserted that these languages have definitely been imported into these borders from the neighbouring Tibet, China and Burma.

Mundaric tribes.

I venture to suggest that the Munda languages too are similar importations.

The Austric Family of languages covers a wide area outside India, extending from Madagascar off the Coast of Africa to New Zealand and beyond to Easter Island within 40° of the South American Coast. It is spoken in Indonesia, Polynesia, Melanesia, New Zealand and a part of New Guinea. A Sub family of the Austric called "Austro-Asiatic" covers Cambodia, Annam, Indo-China, parts of Burma, Malay Penninsula and the Nicobar Islands. From these homelands, this branch appears to have spread into a few spots in India.

Khasi, a language spoken in the Khasi and Jaintia hills in the heart of Assam has been identified as an Austro-Asiatic language. It is spoken by 1,77,293 persons. Passing westwards from Assam, it is in the plateau regions of Odissa, the Chota Nagpur Plateau and its neighbourhood in Bihar and the neighbouring districts as far north as Darjeeling in Bengal that the Munda group of Languages has its chief habitat. These languages are now said to belong to this Austro-Asiatic Family. The principal language of this group in the north of the plateau is 'Kherwari' with its dialects 'Santali', 'Mundari', 'Ho', 'Bhumij', 'Korwa', etc. It is spoken by 2,537,328 persons. South of this, 'Kharia' is spoken in the Ranchi district and 'Juang' is spoken by the Juangs and Pataus, living in the forests of 'Keonjar' and 'Dhenkanal' States of Odissa. (Incidentally, the Juangs are said to

be so uncivilised as to move about naked). 'Sora' and 'Gadaba' are spoken in South Odissa and in the adjacent tracts in this province by tribes bearing that name. The Munda group of languages would have thus made a compact home for themselves on the plateaus above Kalinga and Utkala, but for two stray groups further up. 'Kurku' with the dialects 'Muwasi' and 'Naahali' spoken in the western districts of the Central Provinces and in Mewad is indentified as a language of this group. About a lakh of persons speak it. 'Kanaavri' spoken in the Simla hills is another. It is further stated that the Tibeto-Burman languages in the Himalayas, between North-East Assam and North-East Punjab, generally spoken purely, have been affected by Munda speech in the languages of a series of scattered tribes living between Darjeeling and Kanaavar. It is noteworthy that Hodson put most of these into a group called 'Kiraanti' a word reminiscent of Kiraata.

It has been surmised that Munda speaking peoples once inhabited a large area across the whole breadh of Hindustan and have now been driven into the little corner in Bihar and Orissa where they live in a savage state and into the north where they are submerged in the Himalayan races.

That these people have existed from the dawn of history in their present table lands is proved by the references in the Vedas and the Ramayana to Savaras, by Pliny to Suarii and by Ptolemy to Sabarae. Savara was evidently the principal tribal name. It is said that in the Mahabharata and Vayu purana the name Munda has been used. It is worth noting that, either then or now, there has been no trace of them outside the Utkala mountains. The Pallava King of Kanchi, Narasimha Varma refers to one Udayana, King of Sabara, but the indentity of these Sabaras with Savaras is disputed. There is besides the River Saabari or Saaveri which joins the Godavari at Kunavaram. It flows through Koya Country but also past the land of the tribe called Munda Porjas who are similar to the Juangs mentioned above in regard to lack of clothing.

Apart from the language, these Mundaric or Savara tribes exhibit characteristics which distinguish them from the others in this country including even other hill and forest tribes suspected of being autho-chthones. But they have been of the Hindu pursuasion in regard to religion and social matters like everyone else.

The only way in which the Western scholars have hitherto been known to account for their existence in this country is to propound the theory that they were the 'aboriginal dwellers' here before the Aryans came and before the Dravidians came. They would thus be 'Adivasi' par excellence leaving no chance of such a distinction to the many other tribes of larger numbers who speak languages of the Dravidian and the Aryan groups.

Against this may be mentioned the fact that, in the earliest eras, the Hindu had crossed the seas and established trading colonies and even set up kingdoms in the lands of the Eastern Ocean - the very homes of the Austric family. Is it unlikely that some Austrics had crossed over from Malaya due to pressure by the Sino - Burmese or Siamese or had been brought over by the Hindus to this part of India? Kalinga, Chola, Pandya and Chera are the provinces of India that had chiefly traded and ruled in these eastern countries. Could not some Kalinga King have imported this type of Austric who stands out to-day with his Munda language? Similarly, a Chola might have brought in the Negrito element represented by the Chenchu and the Irula; a Pandya the Kadar from Borneo or Malacca and a Chera, the Paniyan from Africa. These others have lost their languages unlike the Mundas; but other characteristics remain. Where these tribes exist we can see archaeological and other traces of civilised life of the Hindu type. It looks as if, with some political upheaval or other catastrophe, the Hindus deserted these regions and only these foreign slaves have remained in the hills and forests. It is significant that where the Hindu still resides, the tribesmen are still slaves. The Paniyan and others are still slaves in Kerala; the Santal and Bhumija were also the same till recently.

Anyhow, the claim of some 3 million people living in a corner of this huge land of 400 millions to be antochthones seems preposterous. There are other tribes who by sheer numbers will question this claim.

These other tribes are some of them 'Aryan' and many 'Dravidian'.

Having eliminated the Tibeto-Sino-Burman and the Siamese as really frontier growths and having accounted for the Austric in the Odissa mountains as an importation or a possible exodus from Malaya due to some pressure, we have to deal with this Aryo - Dravidian problem.

The Aryo Dravidian Problem

Some scholars have stated that India was the cradle of mankind and Samskrit was the first speech of man. By this, they mean not the classical Samskrit but the mother of the more ancient Prakrits. The tradition of Nataraja and his little drum and the Panini Sutra on the first sounds may come to one's mind. India could at least have been the cradle of the Hindus as we call them now and of their forbears who had flourished from Trans-Himalayas to Cape Comorin had developed the culture of Kasi, Kanci and Takshasila and had given the world its earliest sciences.

Yet, the Aryo Dravidian problem is very much to the fore.

Shortly put the 'Aryan' so-called is North Indian and 'Dravidian' so-called is South Indian. The North and the South were divided by great distances. The North was exposed to clashes with the "Mleccas" or barbarians. The South was more peaceful and prospered on a great maritime trade. The South was also more religious and puritan, which was recognised in the division of the 'Pancha Gaudas' and the 'Pancha Dravidas'.

It should be noted that when the Pancha Dravidas were divided off they were not called "Anaryas"; nor did the other five assume the title "Aryan". The "Aryan Path" which simply means 'civilised life' or 'the elders way' was common to both. Gauda was the chief province of the north and Dravida of the South.

The name Dravida has been a matter of controversy. "Tamizha" is the Tamil form of it. 'Dramila' and 'Dramida' occur in Greek and Latin. 'Tramila' is said to occur in Mohenjo-Daro. The great Chanakya who hailed from the South was called 'Dramila.' Dravida appears to be the Samskrit form—the form according to Paninian rules. It is evident however that Tamizha or Dravida referred to a province primarily.

The fundamentals of the two Sections—Gauda and Dravida—were the same. The Gods were the same. The thought was the thought of the Vedas and Upanishads.

Mohenjo Daro and Harappa date back to the days of the Mahabharata war. They have not been fully excavated and interpreted. Yet, what has been discovered is a Hindu civilisation of a people speaking a proto-Tamil dialect written in a pictographic

script suspected to be the mother of the Brahmi script. The writings disclose the thought of the Vedas and the Upanishads. Can it then be argued that the Vedas and Upanishads were the products of a Tamil culture of yore? All that may be inferred is, that in those ancient days, the Northern and Southern dialects had not diverged very greatly from each other; and, if the earlier Samskrita of the Vedic days had come about by then, it had not spread all over the land yet.

By and by, distances and long separation appear to have played with the spoken word. The speeches of the North developed differently, affected, perhaps, by the barbarian contacts and also by the earlier Samskrita itself. This, in fact, is the only difference that exists between the two. The North is Samskritic-the South is Tamilian.

The Proto-Tamil in Mohenjo Daro and stray dialects in the north indicate that the Tamil form was prevalent throughout India. This would make the Aryan-race theorists jump up and claim that India was once all Dravidian and the Aryans, a new race, conquered it and forced the Samskrit language on it.

How is Samskrit different from Tamil? Scholars within India itself have been lured into controversies over the claims of the one or the other to greater hoariness and independence of the other. They, too often, forget that the materials they handle in such arguments are from classical Samskrit and classical Tamil both codified and systematised by Panini and Agastya respectively each according to a separate grammar. The vedic language must have been an earlier Samskrita.

Prior to these codifications it must have been the age of 'Gramya padas' or Colloquialisms. The distances mentioned above must have played with the spoken word in the different provinces.

When Agastya, the northern sage, came down south he saw a rich language for which he found it worth while to construct a grammar. His is, in fact, the earliest Tamil grammar.

It is well known that spelling in the short Tamil alphabet gives scope for a gradual metamorphosis of most words. Agastya fitted existing 'gramya padas' into these alphabets which resulted in further changes, through uncertain pronunciations.

In the north, Panini and others codified the Samskrit. The earlier codification must have broken down into prakrits. Panini adopted the fulsome alphabet and the rigid forms.

It should be remembered that the Paninian codification or any predecessor to it was intended for the purpose of recording scientific information. The phonetics were therefore important. Even for the Vedas and Upanishads the "Sabda-artha" was essential. The codified language was destined to be the language of the learned only. It is likely that scholars from different provinces collaborated in this great work - even from Tamil Nad. The very form in which the Saṁskrit Kosas or dictionaries are compiled would suggest that the various provincial names or words signifying the same thing were listed together - albeit, they were set into the rigid Paninian forms.

The Madhya Desa - the banks of the Yamuna and the Ganga must have had its attractions even in the earliest times, as now, for the cultured from all over India. The culture of Madhya Desa became the "Aryan Path" – 'the civilised way'. To the Kuru-Panchalas of this area even their near kinsmen in Madra (modern Punjab) were 'Anaryas' or uncivilised. So must have been the frontier folk in the North West who persevered with their Paisaci Prakrit. (Telugu, one of the Tamilian languages is said to bear some resemblances to this Prakrit). The people in the outlandish parts chiefly the hilly and forest regions - must also have retained their unvarnished speeches. In the north, it is only gradually that provincial dialects attained literary form and status at which stage alone, they could be samskritised. The south had given a setting and a varnish of its own wherein the samskritised form was admissible only to be broken down by the spelling diefficulties of the Tamil alphabet. It is reasonable to expect a similarity between Tamil and these speeches of the north which did not get samskritised.

A close examination of Samskrit and Tamizh will reveal that, their words are of common origin. Tamizh itself, after all, is a Samskrita done on the Agastyan lines.

To illustrate: (1) 'Ida' in Samskrit means among others a "cow". The gramya form of this might be 'Idai'. The Tamil makes the word 'Idaiyan' out of this, meaning 'Cowherd' whilst Ida or Idai is not in vogue at all.

(2) 'Go' in samskrit means a cow. In the Tamil alphabet to may be written only as "Ko". The Tamil has no use for the wird "Ko" to mean a cow but a development as Konar means a Cowherd. The Samskritic developement of "Go" into Gopala or Gwala meaning Cowherd breaks down into "Golla" which is the Telugu word for cowherd - transferred to the Shepherd now-a-days. And Telugu is Dravidian!

(3) 'Sel' in Tamil means 'to go' – 'Sval' in Samskrit means 'to run'.

(4) Solka சொல்க – in Tamil is to tell – 'Svalk' in Samṣkrit means the same. Solkiran - சொல்கிருன், Svalkayati - ச்வல்கயதி.

(5) Egutal – எகுதல் in tamil and Eguta எகுட in Telugu mean to go. "Ejati" எஜதி in the vedic language means – 'moves'.

Instances like this can be multiplied until we know that the authors of Tamil and the authors of samskrit were working on the same basic stuff. The latter required rigid forms in which to make permanent record; to the former, this was superfluous and growth at will was allowed. The superfluity, be it remembered, was because the one was regarded as complementing the other. Compare the English and the French using Latin and Greek for scientific record and coining standardised phrases. It is most unlikely that such Latin and Greek was the speech of the ancient Greeks and Romans.

I have said that on their frontiers the ancient Hindus had contacted and absorbed alien races. The Mongoloid has left his mark in the North and the North East. His absence in the West and North West is significant. We have seen how the Austric were importations into certain regions in the East and the South where they have stagnated.

The "White" who is absent in the East appears in the North West and has been absorbed to a greater extent than any others. Invasions by these white barbarians had taken place unceasingly in the history of our country. There was also a spreading out of the Hindu on this border - perhaps an Old - world "Forward Policy" extending beyond Kandahar or Gandhara. Colonies of Hindus in Iran, Iraq, Anatolia and Central Asia existed which have been

mistaken for the original homes of the so called Aryans. Even in later days, a Hindu-Buddhist community in the Caucasus provided the Caliph, Haroun-al-Raschid with a minister who imported more Hindu Scholars into Bagdad.

As a result of these contacts, the western vocabularies appear to have absorbed a number of Indian words. The chief seats of learning were in India and scholars came in and scholars went abroad. .

The similarity of the Western languages to Samskrit has led people to search for a common home for Indians and Europeans in Central Asia, the banks of the Volga and, the now more popular, Hungary. The innocent word "Arya" was fancied as the name of a parent race and a parent language.

Yet; the Dravidian languages were a puzzle. It was thought that they and those who spoke them were different from the "Aryan" who for purposes of this theory had to be fairskinned and not brown.

It was not perhaps noticed that these same Western vocabularies which contain so much of the classical Samskrit, also contain words similar to the so called Dravidian languages. Greek itself is not free from them. "Tele" the Greek root signifying distance which gives us telephone, telegraph etc., is not far from 'Tolavu' or 'Tolai' of Tamil or 'Tolagu' of Telugu. Celtic, Finnish, Latin and the Semitic languages also show traces of the Tamil touch.

This can only mean that as Hindu learning spread in the different eras, the foreign vocabularies absorbed the Hindu speeches of the respective periods. The spread of the Hindu had occurred even in the pre-Samskritic eras and also from the South which maintains many pre-Samskritic forms.

Now, once the two Samskritas - Samskrit and Tamizh got set in their respective alphabets and grammars there was no more playing with the word. The reign of "Tatsamas" began. Tamizh could still take over the Samskrit forms and metamorphose them again. What is said of Tamil would apply to other provincial languages as and when they attained literary forms. The rigid Samskrit forms broke down into Tatbhavas and north Indian

dialects were also affected by barbarian contacts. In fact, the barbarian invasions and the political upheavals in the North made Samskrit flee from the North and seek safety in the South. No wonder then, that eleven plays of Bhasa, the Samskrit dramatist were discovered in Kerala preserved in the Malayalam script.

The South in comparative peace and in its anxiety to preserve learning guarded the very Vedic Svaras and subsequent Samskrit literature. The Tamils expanded their alphabet into the Grantha script to receive the fleeing Samskrit. Far from looking upon it as an imposition by a conquering race, the South nourished the refugee and saved Hindu culture not only in its Tamil form but in the Samskrit itself. For, what was Samskrit but a Rashtra Bhasha, the common child of all the provinces. Sankara, Appayya and several others even furthered it so that Samskrit is uttered more fluently in the south today than in the north.

I have discussed this Aryan - Dravidian question at this length because seeming linguistic differences have encouraged scholars to accept the theory of an "Aryan invasion and a Dravidian submersion, following upon a Dravidian invasion and Kolarian submersion.

Ethnically, it will be seen that there is no difference, whatsoever between the two. Any one in the streets of Delhi or Lucknow can with a change of costume be passed off for a southerner.

The 'Invasionists' cite the archæologist discovery of Kistvaens, Cairns and Dolmens, as they call them, especially in the south, as evidence of a submerged race or races. Similar ones have been found in Mohenjo-Daro. The Buddhist Stupas themselves are said to be such relics. A well known verse in Manimekhalai a Tamil classic, describes six modes of disposal of the dead, prevalent in those days.

Buddhism, Jainism and various other schools of religious pursuit were at that time flourishing and decaying in turns in different areas. That the attention paid to the dead varied from place to place and from class to class need not then surprise us. There are even now certain classes who build dolmens etc., similar to the ones referred to above.

The bulk of the tribes we have to consider belong to the so called Dravidian group. These Dravidian tribes are seen in North India also. They are 'Dravidian' because of their speech. Some of them claim to have moved up from the South. Yet, most of them must have belonged to their present homes. I have shown how their speeches being unaffected by the northern Samskritas and being only spoken dialects and not literary forms must bear resemblance to Tamil.

If the 'Aryan' is a myth, if Dravida is the name of a province like Videha or Panchala and the tribes are not of any submerged race, why and how are they in the mountains and forests? Why are they in a barbarous or semi-barbarous state today? The Tamil classics and Tamil Grammar give the answer to the first question; The second is answered only by a confession of our sins.

In a big country with a sea coast and inland mountains, land is divisible in to four definite tracts, each with its geographical characteristics and its economic potentialities. The ancient Tamil grammarian recognized them in his chapter on 'Porul' or பொருள் meaning 'wealth'. These divisions are (1) Kurinji or mountainous tracts, (2) Mullai or forests, (3) Marudam or plains and (4) Neidal or sea coast The people residing in all these tracts were of the same stock - Tamils - but each region had developed, habits, customs, arts and religious practices according to the air they breathed, the waters they drank of and the food they could produce on their terrain. The grammar mentions the characteristic crops, food, the fauna and flora, the God worshipped, the occupations, the musical instruments, the source of water supply, appellations by which men and women are addressed and the titles assumed by the hero and heroine in each of these tracts.

The people of the 'Neidal' or sea coast have for their God 'Varuna'; their occupations are fishing and salt gathering; their food is earned by sale of these products. The men are called 'Baratar'. (In Tamil there is only one letter to indicate all labials). The. Samskrit form is Bharata. "Bharu" means hasband; lord; Siva' Visnu; gold and also *sea*. Maritime trade was obviously in the hands of these Baratar and it is likely the name 'Bharata Bhumi

given to India is derived from them, rather than from the legendary Bharata, son of Sakuntala. One of the titles ascribed in the grammar to the heroes or chiefs of Neidal is 'Konkan'. - கொங்கன். 'Konkan' is the name of the sea board in the west of India to-day. Another title is 'Cherpan' suggestive of the 'Chera' The people of Neidal may also be called Neidalar and it was a pleasant surprise when we came across a community living by selling fish and salt in Koyyur of Narasapatnam in the Vizagapatam district who called themselves 'Neialavaru' which is Telugu for 'Neidalar'.

Marutam (மருதம்) is the area of fertile plains, villages, towns and cities where arts and crafts flourish. Samskrit 'Marta' (மர்த) means the earth, the world of mortals. The coastal regions have the mermaids and Neptunes, the forests their sylvan gods and goddesses but the plains were 'marta', the earth of average mortals. Mru is the root that gives Mar, Marana etc., and also marittal (மரித்தல்) in Tamil – to die. A habitation in Marudam - Village or township - was called a 'Perur' பேரூர் or 'Mudur' மூதூர். We havemany of these to-day. 'Perur' sometimes becoming 'Porur' போரூர் and 'Mudur' gets corrupted to 'Budur' பூதூர்.

The occupations in the Mullai or forest regions are mentioned as the cultivation of 'Varagu', grazing of cows and playing the flute. The people were called 'Idaiyar' and 'Ayar', Their hamlet was called 'Padi' or 'Cheri'. The water source was the hill stream. The staple food was 'Varagu' and 'Samai'. Fauna consisted of the hare and the little deer and the jungle fowl and the pea-cock. 'Vishnu' was the god as is appropriate for a cowherd community playing the flute. The chiefs or heroes bore the titles 'Kurumborai', 'Nadan' and 'Tondral'. What a magnificient setting for a people to live in; No wonder the ancient poets eulogised the region and its people. 'Auvai' the great poetess, not merely praises the famous 'Ai' - ஆய் - a king of Mullai regions but negotiated the marriage of his two daughters with a king of the plains. These forest tribes, as we call them now, were evidently, in those days, in close touch with the Marutam or civilised plains and they were civilized enough to entertain poets and inter-marry with plainsmen.

The Kurinji is the mountainous tract. The staple food was hill rice and 'Tinai'. The people were called 'Kuravar' and

'Kundravar'. The 'Kurichan' of Kerla and the 'Kond' or 'Kondavaru' of Kalinga are among the descendants of these ancient hill dwellers called 'Kurunilam folk' throughout Tamil literature. The Tamil root 'Ko' or 'Ku' means a mountain. 'Koh' in Persian means mountain too as also 'Kuthi' குட்ஹி and குட்ஹார் Kutthara in Samskrit. 'Kuru' is derived from 'Ku' but 'Ko' itself has yielded another name. The Tamil poet eulogises the 'Kosar' and their truthfulness in the ஒன்று மொழிக்கோசர்—"the Kosar of the one word".· The Kosar here referred to were the ones, the poet met with in Kongumandalam. In Tamil, the letter 'Sa' is replaced by 'Ya'. In common parlance the word 'Koyan' is used as a term of ridicule indicating an uncultured fellow. But Coimbatore of today is no other than 'Koyan—Mudur' meaning the town built by a certain Koya. Being a Mudur, as we have shown above, it was a town founded in the plains—obviously reclaimed—by a hillman. The name Koya is now the name of several hill tribes in the north in the Andhra country whom I shall describe in the chapter on Koyanadu.

That certain tribes occupying the Karnataka plateau and its vicinities are called 'Kurumbar' or 'Kurubar' cannot be a mere meaningless accident. 'Kurumborai' we have seen was one of the titles assumed by the chiefs of the 'Mullai' or forest area. The 'Kurubas' of today do not own the forests. The Governments and other monopolists have appropriated them for so called conservation. They are no more the cattle breeders—'Ayars' of the olden days. They have taken to sheep which alone forest laws do not forbid. The 'Kurumbas' extended into the Nilgiris and Wynaad hills from the hilly regions of Mysore. Even today they persist in calling their title cluster of two or three huts a 'Padi', a name applied only to a 'Mullai' habitation. A section of 'Kurumbas' in Kerala actually call themselves 'Mullai Kurumbans'. The Kurumborais in the Palar Valley were virile enough in the second and third centuries to strike out and conquer and to establish the famous Palava or Pallava Empire of Kanchi. 'Tondrai' I have mentioned is another of the titles taken by the hero of a Mullai region. The Pallavas called their land 'Tondral Mandala' which has been corrupted into the modern 'Tondamandala.' Incidentally, Ballava is a Sanskrit word meaning cowherd. The Empire prospered till the 8th century when the Cholas under 'Adondai'—the terrible—

destroyed it and drove the 'Kurumborais' back into the Eastern Ghats and the Mysore plateau. The 'Kurumbas' on the slopes and plains have taken to sheep rearing; others that went up the hills are called 'Kadu Kurumbans' (Kadu-forest) and have attempted, however unsuccessfully, the Kurinji occupations of honey gathering, bird catching, root digging etc. Hence the name, 'Jen' or 'Ten' (honey) Kurumba of a section in Nilgiris and Wynaad. In this connection attention must be drawn to the fact that 'Kurumbu' is the name of a hamlet in a 'Palai' region which I shall describe below. That with degeneration, the 'Kurumborai' were reduced to mere 'Kurumbans' meaning inhabitants of a 'Kurumbu' of a 'Palai' region is in conformity with the present day condition of this community. But the fact that the Kurumban would still call his two or three huts a 'Padi' and retain the adjective 'Mullai' indicates that he yet hopes to surmount the havoc caused by Nature and man and retrieve his land from the ursurper and also from the denudation into a Palai.

The 'Kurumba' tough is again seen in the north in the Vizagapatam district, in the Konar Kings of Gollakonda. Konar is another name for 'Idaiyan' or 'Ayan'. 'Golla' is the Telugu name for the same being derived from the Sanskrit 'Gwala'. The 'Ballavas' or 'Pallavas' are known to have extended their empire very far into the north. I shall say more of this in my chapter on 'Bagata Nadu' below.

The usefulness of each of these tracts in the economy of the country as a whole was recognised, for Tamil literature sings the praises of all of them, though, the poets and writers must have hailed mostly from the Marutam area.

The Tamil grammar furnishes yet another clue. The four abovementioned divisions of land are primary ones, and are what any nation may wish to have; but, a fifth had come about and was called 'Palai' பாலை. Palai is described as the result of the 'Kurinji and 'Mullai' tracts being rendered barren and fruitless by destructive processes through the agency of nature and man. And now we will see the special characteristics of such a degenerate tract as given by the grammarian. The deity worshipped is 'Durga'. The fauna are, the elephant weak with age and disease, the tiger and the wild dog. The flora are the Iruppai, Omai and Palai. The birds are

the vulture and the hawk. The drum used is the war drum or the looter's drum. Occupations are cattle lifting and robbery. The musical instrument is the 'Palai Yazh' பாலையாழ் – a crude *veena* and the 'Raga' popularly sung is 'Panjuram'. The habitation was called 'Kurumbu' and the inhabitants were called 'Maravas' and 'Eyinas' – மறவர், எயினர். It is not a mere coincidence that the tracts inhabited by the Maravas of Pandya Nadu and 'Eyinas' or 'Eyinadis' of Aruva Nadu* answer the above description amply? We see these people living today in areas where forests and other resources have disappeared and decayed and the land has grown barren. Is it any wonder that these communities took to the 'Palai' means of livlihood mentioned by the grammarian?

Note: The Districts of Chittoor, Chingleput. North Arcot and South Arcot of today formed the old Aruva Nadu and Uttara Aruva Nadu–two of the 27 Nadus or districts of ancient Tamil Nad. The Telugus and Kannadiya's who touched the Tamils on this border applied this name to all Tamils whom they Call "Aravas"

Political upheavals have resulted in such "falling back" by certain other tribes or communities also. 'Mutracha' or 'Mutrasis' in the Telugu country and 'Muttarayar' in the Tamil country are now a backward class though not a scheduled class. In some areas their condition is very low indeed. In the ancient days they were known to have been soldiers. When Mayura Sarma, the audacious young scholar of Kanci availed of the political confusion of his days and founded the Kadamba Kingdom of Vanavasi he achieved his object with the help of an army of Muttarayar. Today, the Muttaraya is no where near being the Kshatriya of the South.

A really notable example of a "fall back" or stagnation is the hospitable Reddi of the Godavari agency. He seems to have resorted to the quiet of the hills after the terrific betrayal and destruction of his empire at Rajahmundry. A great authority has chosen to call them "aboriginals" but there they are with their very Reddi habits and customs speaking a pure mediaeval telugu.

In addition to these, the famines of the past are known to have driven some communities to the hills and forests.

It will be seen from the above, that the so-called primitive tribes are not of any separate race that were driven into the jungles and hills by the dominant Hindu usurpers. The truth is that the ancient Hindus valued the hills and forests equally well with the deltas at the mouths of rivers. Whole river systems were the economic units. If the delta was populous, the forest and hills of the upper valleys or rivers also contained civilised life as is borne out by the archaeological finds in these upper regions. The pilgrimages performed even till this day to some famous shrines on the hills commemorate the glories of the ancient cultured life in those tracts. The memory is not long past of iron smelting, steel manufacture and similar metallurgical industries which had their homes on these hills. There is not a hilly district in the province which does not still bear the traces of this once useful industry. Timber industry must have been of great importance in the days when Tamil ships ruled the Eastern Ocean. The hills and forests were rich in other commercial products too. Some of these hill tribes even to-day are credited with knowledge of certain ores, plants and herbs. That the Koyas of the Polavaram Agency trace the stuff called 'Kaphari' (கபரி) and sell it to plainsmen is significant and it has actually induced some prospectors to search for zinc ores in that region. Whether the Kaphari brought by the Koya to-day contains zinc or not, the tradition is proved and scope for investigation has been afforded.

The Kamri Koya of Bhadrachalam had only one request to make and that was permission to smelt his own iron with Sandra charcoal.

The iron villages and iron castles of the Puranas are apparently not mere legends. In course of time, parochial and communal differences between the plains dweller and the hillmen appear to have set in and become acute in the north. The hillmen were called 'Nagas'. The word 'Naga' has several meanings, viz., a mountain, a tree, a plant, a serpent and the sun. A cobra too was a child of the hills and forests and was therefore a 'Naga'. When bitterness prevailed the plainsmen identified Nagas with the venomous reptile and the hillman was only too pleased to adorn his banner with the serpent. It is not unusual in Hindu History that the grain producing and pastoral commuities get into conflict with the artisan classes. Within

living memory the Kapu (Kisan) and the Golla (Gwala) in Royalaseema with their henchmen the Madigas were arrayed against the whole lot of about 82 artisan catstes welded into the Setti Samme or Sreshti Sammelana.

The puranic conflict assumed immense proportions when the Asuras etc. headed by the Nagas or hill-men amongst whom Indra, Varuna, Agni and Siva himself were counted in the earlier Vedic times became demons using trees and mountains as weapons, skilled in sorcery, living in castles of gold, iron and silver, dark as a thunder cloud, with red eyes and frightful teeth, wandering, perhaps, attacking by night and cannibalistic. Erstwhile brothers had become such enemies. The plainsmen of the north were led by the Jumna-Gangetic area known as Madhya desa which claimed to be the sole custodian of the culture of the ancients - the elders or Aryas. Pipru, Varuci and Namuci with their tens of thousands of black warriors were the demons - Asuras, Daityas, Dasas, Danavas, Nisacharas, Rakshasas, Nivatakavachas etc.

The plainsmen won in the end as may be expected. Ayah Siras (Iron head), Ayas Sanku (iron demon) and Loha Jandha (Loha-metal) killed by Krishna in his residence Lohaban are mentioned in the Mahabarata as the defeated ones. One tribe whose kings had been killed by Bhimasena, the Pandava, claim that one of their women begot a son to Bhima who eqalled the father in strength and valour. The hill tribes also preserve these traditions in their own way and they claim to be descended either from the Pandavas or some enemies of the five brothers and their friend, the wily Krishna. Many tribal traditions talk of the wiles of Krishna. The hillmen were ultimately worsted and thereafter the cleavage became unbridgeable.

These campaigns against the hillmen, who appear to have been powerful enough to merit a few incarnations of Maha Vishnu himself to put them down, could not have been by any race of new-comers. Their enemies must have been a settled people in the plains below, for, they had a trading class and market places called 'Panihi' :,பணி. 'Panaya' பணைய or 'panana' பணன means sale or barter. 'Pana' பண

means price, wealth, shop, distiller, seller or vendor, business etc. The verses in *Rg Veda* calling curses upon the Pani/s-evidently merchants, indicate that there were conflicts between merchants and others as usual in any civilised society. The advocates of the invasion theory would say that "the Panis were representatives of an earlier commercial civilisation". But the hymn reads "Let the Panis, who fail to perform sacrifices and make gifts, sleep the eternal sleep". It sounds more like a strongly worded resentment of a lapse from Vysia Dharma by the Panis of the day.

Whilst in the north the conflict between the plainsmen and the hillmen as above stated was going on, the south continued without such conflicts. The plains and cities of the South had the trade of the seas and were therefore more appreciative of the resources of their hills and forests and their brethren living in those regions. The South continued to maintain the contacts between the different tracts Kurinji, Mullai, Marutam and Neidal.

But there was an end to the happy state of affairs and anarchy seized the south. In the dark ages between 1300–1900, several communities got dis-established. The old Hindu economic order was smashed to blithereens. The plainsmen forgot the Kurinji and Mullai and in fact deserted them in the rushing down to protect the cities of the Marutam and Neidal. Those who stayed behind gave up all contacts with the plains with a view to avoid the risk of notice by the moving marauders who were merely killing, demolishing and pillaging in the plains. They had to give up their crafts and occupations, for, the markets of the plains ceased to exist. Thay had to live on the hill produce and even on roots and vermin. They clothed themselves in the barest manner and sometimes with bark and leaves-gradually they lost even their arts and became shy of strangers.

Following upon these dark ages through which Hindu economy had been destroyed, a third party appeared and that was the British Raj with its anthropologists and missionaries. They saw in these retiring peoples a submerged race and proffered to save them from the domineering Hindu and erect parks and enclosures for them where the tribes may display their so called aboriginal charm. But the fact remains that most of these tribes have nothing but Hindu customt and traditions. Indeed, some very Aryan customs – so-called – prevail amongst them, more so than among the plainsment. Their god will

be seen on examination to represent the elements, their ancestors are Bhima or Arjuna or Laksmana or a contemporary enemy of these epic heroes. Even their superstitions and taboos are not non-Hindu. It is said that the head-dress of Siva in the Mohenjo Daro relics bears a close resemblance to that of the Koyas. Most of them cremate their dead. Much has been said about beef eating among some of them, but this was prevalent at one stage of developement among oldest Hindus. The Rakshasa and Gandharva forms of marriage exist among them whilst they are not in vogue amongst the *civilized* plains-dweller.

Indeed it is a moot point whether they are not ahead of us in many respects. Besides their relative peace and freedom, their sense of corporate living and their easy marriage laws may be our envy. However, differences exist; and from our point of view they are backward; and we say this, whilst realising that we are just to-day struggling to adopt their ways regarding free love, widow remarriage, divorce etc. and even a *go back* to plain living.

The pax Britanica gave the Marutam and Neidal a chance of revival. They had not merely to recover but had to race in order to keep abreast of modernity and in order to forge the new socio-economic order. And in this race they had forgotten their traditions, their classics and grammar, their Kurinji and Mullai where their long lost breathren are condemned to ignorance and penury. It is not a minute too soon that we have remembered these lost brethren-not aborigines but just the forgotten sons of our land with their occupations gone, their territories monopolised by others and their culture forgotten.

PART II

The Tribes.

Region.	Tribal Names.
1. KOYA NADU :-	Koya, Reddi, Kammari.
2. BAGATA NADU :-	Bagata, Konda Dora, Gadaba, Kui, Muka Dora, Kotia, Pareng Poroja, Porja (Jodia), Mulia, Dhulia, Ghasi, Dombo, Paidi, Valmiki, Kammari, Oja, Oginbe, Rona.
3. JAKARA NADU :-	Jatapu - Sora.
4. KERALA :-	Ernadan, Mavilan, Vettuvan, Paniyan, Malakkaran, Kadan, Karimpalan, Adiyan, Kattunayakan, Kurichan.
5. TULUVA :-	Male Kudia, Kudubi, Mahrathi, Koraga.
6. NILAGIRI :-	Kota. Toda, Irula, Kurumba, Sholaga, Urali.
7. ANAMALAI :-	Pulayan, Malasar, Muduvar, Kadar.
8. PALANI PERIYAR :-	Paliyans, Mannans.
9. MALAINADU :-	Malaiyali.
10. NALLAMALA :-	Chenchu.
11. OTHER TRIBES :-	Enadi, Irulan, Korava, Lambadi, Kallar, Maravar.

KOYA NADU

Either side of the Godavari from where the Indravati joins it to the apex of the delta is the 'Koya Nadu' or 'Koya Land'. It lies within 80° 15' to 82° East longitude and 17° 15' to 18° 45' North latitude. The Polavaram Taluk on the west bank of the river and the Chodavaram, Ellavaram, Bhadrachalam and Nugur Taluqs on the other bank of the river form the part of Koya Nadu within the province. The Koyas and their compatriots belonging to some other castes and tribes extend also into the Nizam's Dominions as far south as Khammampet on the right of the Godavari and to the left of the river into Baster State beyond Nugur and into the Malkanagiri Taluk of Orissa.

There is something to be said of the name 'Koya'. The Koya does not give this name to himself. He is said to resent being called a 'Koya'. He wants to be called a 'Dora' (meaning lord) and be addressed as 'Mama' (Uncle) which compliment he readily returns. Why and how then this name ?

In Part I, we mentioned the ancient Kosar of Kongu mandala. The Kosar, the ancient Tamils met with, were in the hills of the Kongu country–the ghats in and about the Salem and Coimbatore Districts. Mention has also been made of the founding of Koyan-Mudur, the modern Coimbatore. Koyan (கோயான்) is a term of ridicule or contempt in ordinary Tamil parlance–especially in the Tanjore, Trichirapally areas. Can it be that 'Koyan' is synonymous with 'uncivilised' hillman? The Tamil word 'Ko' which means a mountain, also connotes a King or a ruler; it is likely the subject calls himself a 'Dora' or lord whilst others, in ridicule of his barbarous state, call him 'Koyan' (கோயான்) instead of (கோமான்) 'Koman' which will be the development of the root in the sense of Kingship.

This attempt at elucidation of the etymology of the word Koya is necessary inasmuch as the word is used as a generic name for all hill dwellers in the Koya Nadu. We hear of the 'real Koya', the Kammara Koya, Linga Koya, Are Koyas, Musara Koyas, Kaka Koyas and Matwa or Matta Koyas etc. The names are, in most cases, after the occupation of the community e. g., Gampa–basket and tatti making; Neta Kani–Weaving; Kammara–blacksmith; Musara–brass worker etc. The Gutta Koya living further up the hills in the Baster area claims superiority to all but the Oddi Koyas who are the priests. Even to–day he insists on being addressed as 'Mama'. He claims a a tribute collected annually from the other Koyas intended to be for the temple in the original Koya Home. The Racha Koya is similar to the Gutta Koya. The ordinary Koya, as we call him, also claims what is called 'Dora–Chattam', according to which he is the 'Dora' or 'lord' and should be addressed as such. Today, of course, he will suffer to be called anything. He represents the agriculturists of Koya Nadu. It is significant that even the Jangams known elsewhere as Lingayats or Linga Balijas–the common 'Devaras' of Telugu country are in this region called Linga Koyas in spite of their Saiva habits, and customs (chiefly their tailoring profession) which are totally antagonistic to those of every other caste including the Kamma, Razu, and other modern colonists. It is evident, therefore, that Koya connotes a hill dweller and in such a hill population there have existed all the components of a social framework–the tiller, the artisans, the weaver and even the beggar and, nowadays, the foreigner in the shape of the modern colonists. These new colonists and the Reddies alone have escaped being called Koyas; The Reddi

evidently was also a colonist at an earlier period. Kaka, Matwa and Doli are Kapus, Gollas and Malas respectively of the plains who had been received into the tribe in the past. In a contrary way, a class of sheperds known in the plains as Basa Gollas were once Koyas. The adjective 'Basa' is because of the Koya dialect which they originally spoke and which affects their Telugu still. A similar case will be dealt with in the next chapter, that of the Konda Kapu of Bagata Nadu.

These are the people of Koya Nadu :

People	Description
Gutta or Kutta Koya called also Racha Koya Gommu Koya or Dora Chattam Kamara Koya-Balcksmith or Carpenter Musara Koya - Brass Worker Gampa Koya - Basket maker Oddi Koya - Priests Pattidi Koya - Beggars.	They are hillmen and speak Koya with dialectal differences. These diferences are being forgotten now.
Reddi	Mediaeval Telugu - Rulers of the country in ancient days.
Doli Koya - Malas Kaka Koya - Kapu Matwa Koya - Golla	Plainsmen admitted into the Koya tribe and speak Koya.
Linga Koya - Telugu Saiva Malas Madigas Sale - Weaver Oda - Fishermen Kamma Razu Brahmins	Telugu colonists- All but the Telugu Saivas have escaped being called Koyas because they are very recent settlers.

Gutta Koyas are the ones who live on the hills. 'Gommu' is applied to the Koyas living on the river bank. The river side villages are called Gommu villages. Gommu should then mean 'river' or 'the Godavari' It is, perhaps, traceable to Gulmah குல்மா which means a thicket; a fort, a military contingent of a prescribed number of

footmen, cavalry, etc. Fine forts built by the Reddi Kings are still to be seen at Nallapalli near Dummagudem, at Vaddigudem near Rekapalle and at Devarapalle east of Bhadrachalam. All these are on the river bank. The Reddies must have stationed some 'Gulmas' or contingents at these places and this may have given the region the name Gulma or Gumma. It may even be that the army units in these forts of the Reddis consisted of Koya soldiers. Hence Gumma Koyas or army Koyas.

The Gutta and Gommu Koyas are the real Koyas or the ruling class. They are divided inso five classes -

1. Perumboyadu (2) Madogutta (3) Peregatta (4) Matamuppayo and (5) Vidogatta.

The lowland or Gommu Koyas have forgotten one of the five and count only the following four.

(1) Peredugatta, (2) Mandegatta, (3) Perumboyina and (4) Vikaloru.

Gatta is a corruption of Gotra. These are exogamous groups which are sub-divided again into many families. These gotra names are capable of further elucidation but we may pass over it in this report.

It has been said that 'Koya tradition' points to a Bastar origin and such migration as takes place is usually directed thither. This does not mean much, for, the Bastar State adjoins the Nugur and Bhadrachalam Taluqs of Madras. The Koyas exist, as mentioned already, in the adjoining Malkangiri of Odissa and in the Nizam's areas on the right bank of Godavari. The Godavari and Sabari valleys make the Koya Nadu as a whole. It is not a question of migration from one country to another but it is a movement within their own land. The noteworthy point is that the Koyas suffer from the misfortune of having their land divided up among five different and differing administrations and many more, if their kinsmen, the Gonds are also taken into account. They are, however, voiceless, but may not their well-wishers urge the feasibility and the desirability of

making a district or province of all Koya Nadu and placing it under one administration ?

All along the river banks from Bhadrachalam to Sirovancha in Central Province non-Koyas live - Oda, Besta, Kapu, Reddi, Chakala, Kummara, Madiga. All these are plainsmen who may be called colonists,. Perike (a high caste Kabu and money lender) Sharabu (carpenter) and Sale (Weaver) from the plains and Neta Kani Koyas who are also weavers live away from the river bank mostly; only a few live in the neighbourhood of the new colonists from the plains.

These new colonists are Razus, Kammas, and Brahmins from Guntur and Godavari plains who have built up substantial farms in the Nugur Taluq having obtained lands on darqast. The colonies benefit the Koya; firstly they provide employment thoroughout the year, their ploughs are hired by the colonists; secondly the Koya has been taught the use of improved ploughs.

The Reddis occupy to–day both banks of the river roughly between Kunavaram and Devipatnam. They are to the north of Polavaram and in the Nizam's areas on the right bank of the river and all along the left bank from the line of the Sabari to Gokovaram and from the Godavari upto the valley of the Sileru in the north. They are divided into clans like Pandava Reddis, Raja Reddis and Surya Vamsa Reddis. They worship the Pandavas, the spirits of the hills whom they call the sons of 'Racha', Muthaiduvulu and the village deittes, Muthyalamma, her brother Poturazu, Saralamma and Unamallamma. This last is a Tamil name of Parvati (Unnamulaiamma-உண்ணாமுலையம்மா)

The shrine of Saralamma, 8 miles east of Rekapalle is a place of pilgrimage; Papikonda (Bison Hill) is also another place where an important festival to the Pandavas is held once in 7 or 8 years; the killing of a fatted pig is the chief event.

Doddiganga is a forest deity worshipped when cattle are driven into forests for grazing. Desaganga or Paraganga is propitiated for

cholera or small-pox. The Koyas worship Muthyalamma for this purpose. Harvest festivals are celebrated by the Koyas and Reddis alike.

There are no Konda Kapus or Manyapu Kapus in this Agency. They live towards Peddapuram and Tuni. In the Polavaram Taluq there are some Lambadies. They live apart from the other tribes and live in their own ways in their Tandas. See the note on Lambadies. There is a larger population of plainsmen than of the hill tribes and the backward classes put together in this taluq. The tribes here are the Koyas and the Reddis.

The language and the dialects of the area throw similar light on the early history of this land. The Koya language is a dialect of Tamil spoken with the characteristic hill accent. One can notice in it some typical Kannada forms in addition to the Tamil and Telugu ones. There are dialectal differences between the speeches of different areas. The more northern folk appear to retain the more ancient speech which perhads is close to 'Kui', the language of the Khonds in Odissa. 'Kui' is definitely a dialect of Tamil with some admixture of Odiya. The Koyas and their language are said to be closely allied to the Gonds whose language is called Gondi. The Gonds are a large and famous tribe who are found in C. P., Bihar, Orissa, U. P. and in Central India. There were Gond Kingdoms in olden days and Rani Durgavati who fought the Mogal Akbar was a Gond Queen. The country of the Gonds is still called Gondwana There are even now some petty chiefs belonging to the Gond community. The connection of the Koya with the Gond is reflected in the fact that, when a non-Koya wants to abuse a Koya, he calls him 'Gondia'. This would imply that the Koya is Superior to the Gond though both are of the same tribe. The Gond is the Koya's neighbour on the north in the Chanda district of Central Provinces.

The Linga Koyas and others do not speak any kind of Koya-do not even understand it, they say; they speak a low type of modern Telugu only. The new colonists - the Kamma, Razu and Brahmin - speak the modern high class Telugu.

The real revealing feature about the languages of this land is the languages of the Reddis. Several of them live away from contact

with the plains and speak a high class Telugu – but the Telugu is not modern – it is the Telugu of Sri Natha's days.

"Ela Ranaitiri" will be pedantic in ordinary speech to-day; but such is the speech of theReddi–even the Reddi of the Bison Hill whom ignorance has classified as an aboriginal. The clear indication is that the Reddi was an early colonist and must have resorted to the quiet of the hills when his empire fell to pieces. There is evidence to show that even from these hill resorts he continued to battle for powers; but, worsted time and again, he got reconciled to the hills and valleys and stayed at a stage where Sri Natha and Virabhadra Reddi had left him, shorn of course, of the empire, the wealth, the literary eminence and cultural splendour of the Reddi Kings of Rajahmundry yet maintaining his Reddi-ness in pristine purity.

A peep into history is useful here to understand the present state of the Koya. This land had been part of the Andhra, Pallava, Chola, and Chalukya empires in ancient days. In the fourteenth century, it was part of the Kakatiya Kingdom of Warangal. Warangal had then revived after Malik Kafur's compaign in the South. In 1321 A. D. when Ghiasuddin Tugluk became the ruler of Delhi his son Junakhan - the later Mahamad Ibn Tuglak led a campaign against Warangal. He failed but succeeded in a second attempt when some local chiefs appear to have helped him and got rewarded. In A. D. 1324, the Bhadrachalam Jagir is said to have been granted to one Anapa Aswa Rao by the Delhi Sultan. Warangal revived under a Hindu King again and was again destroyed by the Bahmani Ahmed Shah in 1425. Warangal was alive enough again to march against the Bahmanis in 1461. Those later rulers of Warangal were probably the Reddis who had set up at Rajamundry after the collapse of Kondavidu. Allada Reddy father of the young King Virabhadra Reddi had extended the Reddi Arms to Cuttack and had perhaps also revived Warangal. His conquests had roused the wrath of the Odiyas under Kapilendra Deva of Cuttack (Kataka). The Mohomedan helped by the Rachakonda Velamas were incessantly trying to reach the sea coast. Virabhadra Reddi and his brothers faced a combination of these forces and perished on the battle field. Subsequ-

ently the great Sri Natha was put in the stocks for a suspected no tax campaign and died challenging the poets of the next world and warning them of his approach in his very last poem. The Odras ruled for some time and later the Mahomedans took all the territory known as the northern circars. They appear to have rewarded their Hindu henchmen with the Zamindaries in these districts. In more recent times Bobbili and Vizianagaram were gifted by Sher Mahomed Khan when he conquered and established the Chicacole Sircar. The Zamindaries came about this way and are jagirs of a feudal type assigned by the Mahomedans to their Hindu helpers against the Kakatiyas and the later Reddis.

We are however concerned only with the Aswa Rao. In later records this jagir is styled 'The Hassanga bad–Samkaragiri Zamindari. It was also called the Palavancha estate. The Damara and Settipalli families of Velamas disputed from 1809 to 1852 the usual adoption to an heir–less Zamindar of Palavancha. The Estate at one time, included even the Rekapalle country east of the Sabari.

An insight into the condition of the Koyas, then, will be furnished by the following paragraphs.

Until the Bhadrachalam Taluq was handed over by the Nizam in 1860 the Zamindar maintained a troop of Rohillas–The Rohillas received no pay but lived by looting the Koya country.

The taluk was divided into 10 Samutus–each theoretically comprising 25 Koya villages. Each village had to supply for a month, without pay or batta, a 100 Koyas to carry burdens and a hundred Madigas to act as horse–keepers. The whole land was at the mercy of the undisciplined Rohillas.

"All was grist" writes Mr. Cain, "that came to their mill-even the clothes of the poor Koi women who were frequently stripped and then regarded as objects of ridicule"—They could never lie down to rest at night without feeling that before morning their slumbers might be rudely disturbed, their houses burned, and their property carried off. As a rule, they hid their grains in caves and holes in large trees. The last great plundering was in 1859 near Parnasala.

Social Affairs:

Much has been written about the customs and manners of these peoples. A thorough study of all these only emphasises the fact that the Koyas of all classes and castes are Hindus in origin and in up-bringing. Reference has already been made to the beef-eating of the Koyas which is often held out as a pointer to a non-Hindu origin. Even this beef-eating is, in certain areas, restricted to death and annual ceremonies.

In the opinion of Sri Narahari–B. Sc. Aberdeen–and new colonists like him from Guntur and Godavari Districts, the Koyas are really not such great meat eaters as is often alleged by super-ficial observers. It is once in a way he takes it–at a marriage or funeral ceremony and when he eats he does not scruple to eat beef and even carrion. It is wrong they say, to say that Koyas eat tigers and Pythons.

Drink:

The common beverages of Koya Nadu are the juice of the Palmyrah and arraq distilled from Ippa flowers. In former days, the Koya was distilling his own arraq and through a transition period in which home breweries for private consumption were toler-ated arraq is now a monopoly and a Tamil Nadar runs it on a lease from Government. Opinion of almost all persons interested in Koya welfare is that arraq should be prohibited and that total prohibition should be the starting point of any ameliroation proposed to be done. Ippa flowers can be used as food, some say, for the sugar in them. There is a view that toddy is food and a source of vitamin B. But the real point is that the Koyas suffer from want of food. It is universally stated that for four months in the year, the Koya lives on toddy and a root which he digs up in the forests.

There is an aesthetic side to this question–and that is the very artistically made tapping outfit of the Koya which will get shelved if prohibition were introduced. Every Koya possesses one. There is no toddy drawing class. It is also claimed that most often the Koya drinks the toddy as Nira.

The Koya does not use tobacco so much for smoking as for chewing. This is rather strange considering that even women and children smoke tobacco in the neighbouring plains of Godavari, and that a great amount of tobacco is being grown in patches up the hills for their own use by the Koyas.

The Koya does not take to tea also very much, although, 200 lbs of Green label "Lipton's tea" is sold per month in the Cherla area alone. Social standards seem to be improving rapidly in this area. The following figures from the Cherla area are illuminating. The hitherto half-naked people want and use more cloth. Only, cloth is not available. At Cherla market 150 tons of gingelly oil are sold now as against 40 to 60 tons some 15 years back. Jaggery consumption has gone up four times. Rs. 100/- worth of soaps are sold per month and eight 10 pound tins of dinner biscuits per month. But there are a number of new colonists in this area.

Tribal Organisation :

Koya society is controlled by an extremely democratic organisation. The village is a unit of administration and over it is a "Pinna-Pedda". This office is hereditary but a democratic principle is applied to it. Where a Pinna Pedda dies his heir is usually elected in an assembly of village elders, but if the heir is not fit due to minority or incapacity, the villagers elect a regent to officiate for him. Above him is the Kula-Pedda or Patel who is recognised by the Government; the office is hereditary corresponding to our village Munsifs. The Government also appoint Talayaries but since they appoint only a small number - one for 7 or 8 villages, each village appoints and pays for its own Vetti.

A group of some 10 or 12 villages forms a Samutu in the Koya country. Over the Samutu presides the Samut Dora or Kula Dora but he is only a Chairman of the Council and has to be guided by the opinion of his collegues. The Samtuu is appealed to against the Pinna Pedda or the Patel, who are also liable to "Tappu" as any ordinary citizen. The introduction of a Government paid hereditary Patel appears to have created a confusion of functions but the

democratic will of the Koya is strong enough to bend the Patel too to be a mere president over the debates.

It is not clear how the village elders are represented in the Samutu.

The Reddi Villages :

The highest class among them live on hill tops in Pooturgattu where there are four or five villages. They do Podu cultivation and have mango and other fruit trees. Each clan has its own cluster of houses. They come down from the hill only for salt and cloth. They are very hospitable. Reddies of Sukkamamidi, further north, also, are of a high class. The Reddi looks like a plainsman. He does not look like the Koya. He has an outlandish air and a peculiar accent when he speaks. He has the habits of a caste Hindu. He will not eat beef. He eats pork. There are no Mutas in the Rekapalle area.

The Gotras among the Reddies are informing - Ganga gotram and Pasupuleti are met with in the plains but Allada gotram is reminiscent of Allada Reddy, the conqueror of Kataka and the father of the great Virabhadra Reddy - the last of the Reddy Kings of Rajamundry.

Marriages -

No വരദക്ഷിണ - Varadakshina (Dowry) is paid; only ഒലി (Oli) or Bride's money. Elopments are recognised after a successful staying together for three days. They call this Gandharva and recognise it as such. No marriage is allowed if the girl does not consent. Divorce is allowed. Abduction and rape are punished. If the victim girl is willing, the marriage is recognised. Generally, the girl once ravished, will marry the villian, as no one else will marry her.

In Kula-panchayats, the fines are levied in three equal parts as Kula Tappu, Guru Tappu and Raja Tappu i-e. the fines payable to the community, the religions head and the state, each being Rs. 6/- totalling Rs. 18/-. There used to be a 'Guru' who was a Jangam. The Reddies are Saivas. There is no more any Raja. Therefore all the Rs. 18/- are appropriated by the Commune only. It is used for tobacco and drink. The money is divided among Kula Peddas.

Since elders of several villages assemble the division is immediate. There is a Kula Pedda above all Peddas. Pedda means an elder.

In the Rampa area (Chodavaram Taluk) the Reddi villages are grouped into Mutas as also Koya villages. The Reddies and the Koyas live apart.

Rampa is a little hill village - population 246 in 1931 - nearby is a waterfall 25 feet high and a rock-cut shrine with a Siva Lingam. Rampa is small Muta but the Mutadar was also chief over the whole of the Rampa Country and controlled other Mutadars. Zamindar, Mansabdar or Raja of Rampa was in old records described as an independent ruler. The well known Rampa fituri following upon Ram Bhupati - the Mutadar's attack on the plains occupied by the British, made an end of this dynasty.

At Errampaleru - Ruins of Buddhist Viharas or Caves are found. Pandavulametta is an ancient relic consisting of five mounds 4½ feet in diameter. Two of the caves 15' x 15' x 8' (height) have ornamented dagobas cut in fine white stone; – close by there is a half-made cave. Copper and gold coins are picked up after rains. At Kottapalle and Kosukonda also such viharas exist. These relics are of the Reddy Empire of Rajamundry or the more ancient Pallavas.

The Reddi does not believe in the law courts of to-day. He prefers a Panchayat. According to him, a taluq panchayat as an appeallate body will ensure correct behaviour by the village or Muta panchayat. The Panchayat he says must be elected on adult suffrage Literary qualification is redundant in the Reddi's opinion (நியாயமு காவல கானி - Justice is what is wanted. In a Muta Taluq Panchayat, they want communal representation. By this they do not mean the sort we have in the plains. The tribes live more or less in their own communes. It is interesting and useful that these democratic institutions hold their ground still on these hills whilst the more cultured Hindu of the plains has allowed his village panchayats to perish and is incapable of reviving the ancient corporate sense.

The new colonists have settled at Tekada near Cherla and at vajeti Nagavaram north of Venkatapuram in the Nugur Taluq. At

Tekada two Kamma gentlemen, B. Sc.'s in agriculture, one of Calcutta, the other of Aberdeen, have set a prosperous farm called the "Abhyudaya Farm". There are Koya villages all round. In addition to training in agriculture, the Koyas got benefited by a store, easy credit, help in their own cultivation and also medicines from a free dispensary run by Nandesvarudu, B. Sc. At Vajeti Nagavararam, a 100 acre farm is prospering. It was commenced in 1923 by 10 families of Razus from Amalapuram and Cocanada; two years later a Vaishnava family joined them. They all obtained the lands on darqast. Those were days of scarcity in the Agencies. There were only eight Koya huts in the place at the time. The Koyas had been reduced to wearing garments of leaves. Now the village has grown to 200 houses and fifty of these are Koyas. The rest are Gollas, Odas etc. All around are Koya villages and many of these are prosperous now. The following observation of Sri R. A. Gopalaswamy, I. C. S. who was the Special Assistant Agent here in 1933 and 1934, is note worthy. 'If the Koya of Nugur is now superior to the Koya of Bhadrachalam and has emerged from the primitive type of conception that the axe is the only implement of a.riculture, it is because a kind Providence has confined him to a narrow strip of fertile plain between the plateau and the river in close contact with a large body of more civilised cultivators from whose neighbour-hood he could not run away".

Rainfall in this land is about 50 inches in the lowlands. It must be more on the hills. The rains are for three months only from 15th June. There is no more rain. Dry cultivation is therefore not possible. Wet cultivation alone may be done and will greatly improve if water sources (the vagus) are properly tapped. Mr. Narahari uses a 'Rahat' in his well. Dry cultivation is also difficult because of the seed brought down from the hills during rains and with cattle excreta. The number of villages in the area is given below:

	Total number of villages.	Hill villages
Bhadrachalam Taluq	333	263
Nugur Taluq	159	99
Chodavaram Taluq	240	140
Yellavaram Taluq	318	158

In the Polavaram taluq a large number of plains villages are included. Bhadrachalam is deficit in its quota of rice. Specific monthly quota is supplied from Rajamundry. Nugur is almost self-sufficient in its food requirements. Chodavaram and Yellavaram are deficit taluqs.

The total area of Koya Nadu is 3676. 31 square miles. Population in the first four taluqs is as below:

Aborigines		117,046
Backward		19,684
Others		49,816
	Total	186,546

Therc is no settled cultivation in the Muta areas except in Dutcherti and Nellipudi. On the riverside villages along the Godavari and Sabari there is some settled cultivation by hillmen. The area of Polavaram; taluq is 543.31 square miles.

Population —	Aborigines		22,231
	Backward		14,488
	Others		48,304
		Total	85,023

In the Polavaram Taluq, the general ban against assignment of lands in the Government's ryotwari areas is said to apply even to the hillmen. There are vast uncultivated areas in this taluq. The Zamindars are often unwilling to assign lands to the hillmen, for the obvious reason that he is a poor cultivator and cannot pay proper rents. There are some Izara lands here which are cultivated in common by the villagers. The produce is shared according to the number of ploughs contributed by each family. This appears to be worth copying in the case of the hillmen elsewhere too.

Irrigation:

Several small irrigation schemes appear to be possible in the Nugur and Bhadrachalam Taluqs.

The Taliperu which flows from Bastar state to Cherla in the Nugur taluq can be bunded up at Pedda Midisileru village. Some-

time ago an estimate of 18 lakhs was made for the project. It is said it can irrigate some 10,000 acres. The Taliperu should be studied even higher up.

Similar projects but of much less cost can be thought of at (1) Kongala – 1500 acres, (2) Ganapavaram – 200 acres, (3) Morumur – 500 acres, (4) Cherukur – 500 acres, (5) Chikupalli – 100 acres. This stream has a water fall 80 to 100 feet – for a considerable width, Water flows from June to December. (6) Koya Hirapuram – 100 acres (7) Chinna Gangavaram – 200 acres.

At Arunachalapuram there is a Zamindari Tank already which irrigates 200 acres. It is capable of being enlarged. At Pragallapalle, there is a Zamindari tank now which may be improved. At Morumur - No. 3 above - the old tank is in disrepair. There is a good site for a dam across a hill stream here. At Kopur, Annavaram and Ippagudam such sites exist, Cherukur - No. 4 above - is inside the Reserve Forest. At Kondapuram in Nugur Taluq the hill stream there can be bunded up. The bund of the Otikunta cheruvu is broken for 50 to 100 years. It can irrigate if repaired Chimalapachi, Koyyur, Upparagudem, Kammaragunta and Ramanujapuram. In the Bhadrachalam Taluq, Gangolu and Nallaballe tanks are the only big ones now. The following streams can be bunded up. (1) Gubbalamangi, (2) Turubaka, (3) Chodavaram, (7 miles from Bhadrachalam), (4) Nellipaka, (5) Gannavaram (6) Nandigama and (7) Morumur. The water table in these taluqs is 30 feet deep and wells are difficult.

In the Polavaram, Chodavaram and Ellavaram taluqs too there is need to harness the hill streams and store the water. There is very good scope for many small works.

Konda Reddis and Koya Doras inhabit the whole of Chodavaram taluq except 21 villages along the river. Their population will be about 30,000. They do extensive Podu. Area of the taluq is about 700 square miles. Cattle are badly bred and poorly fed. Pasture is available for six months in the rainy season only. Stud bulls are required and proposals made for these have not yet

fructified. Land is available in plenty. There are many spots admirably designed by nature for storage of water. Tanks can be constructed.

Mention must be made when dealing with Koya Nadu of the upper Godavari Project - Cottoh's scheme - rendering the river navigable for 473 miles above the anicut, at Dowleswaram near Rajamundry. There are three barriers in the course of the river surmountable only by the locks and cannals. Much work was done with this scheme but it was abandoned in 1871 at the request of the Government of India. There is a fine lock and anicut at Dummagudem 143 miles above the anicut and a canal two miles in length which is still used. Cargo boats can pass it as a rule between June and January and small boats throughout the year. At the 2nd barrier-Indravati - Enchampalli (200 miles) are a partly completed auicut and the remains of unfinished locks and excavations. The 3rd barrier at Dowalamurry is 510 miles from the Anicut. Dummagudem is now an insignificant village but was a busy town when the Godavari works were going on. Number of roughly carved idols were dug up here; two of Ganesa are rough and one of Virabhadra is fine - A Nandi is well made. The lock was damaged in the floods of 1900 and repairs were done at great cost - Kotta Dummagudem was founded during the floods.

There is a great deal of distress felt over the gloomy prospect of submersion of nearly all of the Bhadrachalam and and Chodavaram taluks except the hill tops by the proposed Ramapada Sagar Project. Parts of the Polavaram taluq also will be affected and Koya Nadu in the Nizam's dominions with its coal mines will be under water.

The very ambitious claims made for this project include water supply to Madaras City—not for drinking only but even for irrigation. Locally, the picture painted is of a navigable inland sea and a colossal amount of electric power. But the sea will be over the cultivable portions of the taluk. The town of Bhadrachalam itself will be submerged except the peak of the temple hill. The priests of the temple, dismayed at the proposal, appear to have prostrated themselves before the Adviser to the Governor. They are not solaced by the promise that the sea will be named Rama-padasagar after the feet of Rama's idol on the hill which the waters will touch. The

priests and the populace appear to be unequal to this poetry and want solid ground for themselves before they can delight in Rama's glory. They are dead set against being flooded out of their hearth and home in this manner. It is not a mere 20 or 30 villages that are involved—whole villages totaling 400, huge forests, fertile lands and possibly rich mines will all go under and the general feeling is of an impending calamity.

Anicuts at different levels will probably be more beneficial though less spectacular. A dam, if thought of, at all, may be above Bhadrachalam and it will then irrigate a lakh of acres of Koya land alone. They can even then electrify their houses. A dam at this place coupled with an anicut at Polavaram will irrigate some 2 to 3 lakhs of acres in the delta also, besides ensuring 2nd crop supply to the existing anicut. If the Koya land is saved from submersion, then the Sabari project also will add to presperity in this land.

Our visit to Koya land and our enquiries having been at this momentous eve of an impending cataclysmal change, it is doubtful whether any recommendations we make will be of use, for, they can apply only to the land as it is now, and will not be useful if it is to go under the Sagara.

The Koya is an agriculturist. He ploughs even the Podu land. Given the proper facilities for successful agriculture the Koya will give up Podu. Podu is prohibited in Nugur. This had been done by the Central Province Government, but in Madras, the fear of a Fituri has prevented Government from putting a stop to it. Supply of manure, implements, bulls, and proper advice by agricultural demonstrators will enable the Koya to raise all his requirements on the arable lands. Irrigation facilities will further improve the position. Even now Podu is not permitted in the Reserves. The acreage under Podu will be about 400 acres and will be the same more or less year after year. The Koya does not do Podu more than for his requirments. He will not do it as a business proposition, i. e. to raise paddy or cholam for export. His case is different from the Jatapu and Sora who indulge in Podu to pay their creditors-see-Jakaranadu.

There has been a fallacious notion that the Koyas or Hill Reddies shift their villages along with the shifting of their cultivation during Podu. The villages do not, shift except when pests, disease or a man-eater necessitate a temporary evacaltion.

Loud complaints are made that the Forest Department claims and takes away all the Koya labour for their plantation works., during the agricultural season. Unfortunately, the two seasons synchronise. The Koya has his own agriculture. It seems inevitable that there should be a sylvicultural section in the population same as the agricultural. The pastoral and artisan sects can also take up forest culture as a subsidiary occupation whilst all take part in the extraction and collection of forest produce which will be outside the agricultural season. A proper ordering of these functions is all that is required and this means the revival of the "Mullai" culture, The reasons for the forest department persevering with the inefficient Koya labour are.

(1) that they are charged with finding employment for the hill tribes and prefering them to others and

(2) that the Koya with his Podu and his illicit feelings, being the real enemy of the forest, employing him may inculcate in him a "Forest-sense". It is known that the Chenchu of the Nallamalas who indulges in a lot of illicit feeling will not steal in areas where he has worked in the regeneration. A lot may be gained from this trick of psychology discovered by the Forest Officials; but of this, later.

The forest reservations have evidently not been done with an eye to agricultural requirements also. A strip of fertile land erminently. fit for agriculture for a length of 25 miles from Venkatapuram to Chundrupatla between the river and the road side villages, have been reserved by the forest department for their experimenting on teak. The teak appears to have failed. The land may be more usefully turned over to agriculture.

Economic Conditions :

The Koya is ignorant and finds himself unequal to the forest contractor, sowear, merchant or other paymaster or creditor.

Whilst his inefficiency is admitted, and a margin has to be left to the creditor making up the losses thereby, there seems to be good ground to hold that given such an opportunity the merchant will exploit the Koya beyond the limits of decency. The forest contractor pays well but the Koya is lazy. He is also dishonest when he takes an advance from a contractor which he spends away and goes to earn his day's wages elsewhere. Koya cartmen are notorious for this. At Perantapalli on the Nizam's bank of the river above the Papi Konda gorge, the Swami who is the head of the Poverty relief society undertakes contracts on behalf of the hillmen. He is a philanthropist and doles out to the hillmen. The Government advanced him 2 lakhs of Rupees.

Vetti :-

Some seeming complaints were made about Vetti or forced labour for the forest department. This question was taken up in 1939 by Mr. M. V. Snbramanian, I. C. S., as Agent, East Godavari. For a piece of work conducted departmentally the number of cooly units is calculated and the relevant amount of money sanctioned. The officer carrying out the work calls out the hillmen and puts them on to the work. The recruiting to the work is apparently not done by the official himself. He depends on the headmen for this who turns out whole villages on to the work. When payment is made for the piece of work, only the prescribed amount as per the cooly units calculated per work, is paid. For a 20 unit work, some forty or fifty turn up.

The contractors however, recruit only as many men as they require. Mr. Subramaniam had then insisted that the cooly units should be determined after experiments and only that number of coolies recruited per piece of work as are reqnired, as per that calculation. This will perhaps increase the cost of the work and the department being short of funds appears to have winked at the Vetti which the Koya performs owing to his ignorance.

There is also the fact that the hillmen's labour is inefficient. His day is only 2 or 3 hours and poor work at that. Mere inefficiency will increase the costs. The solution probably is to give up hillmen's labour for these works until their efficiency improves or give the piece work on a contract to a group of hillmen.

Gotti or Serfdom:

The familiar Paleru system, which is prevalent even in the plains is in vogue here. This is identified with Gotti, a sort of bondage prastised in some Central Indian and North Indian tribal areas. " Paieru " does involve a bondage in the sense that the labourer having taken an advance is bound to work the debt out; but the wages he gets and the cash part of the debt deducted by the work put in, are good. Usually, the rates are of Rs. 8/- to Rs. 10/- per month plus food or supply of a cumbly, two sets of clothes and Rs. 20/- to Rs. 30/- per year plus food. There is no compulsion that the wife should work along with the husband for the creditor. There are also no cases of inherited bondage. The system affords certain reciprocal advantages and any possible evils will be prevented if suitable credit facilities are made available.

A Koya who had urgent need of money for his own agriculture borrowed and placed his elder brother who was not very useful at home as Paleru with the creditor. In this case, the Koya appears to have had the better of the bargain for the useless brother was fed elsewhere. The story was given by the Koya himself and he was greatly pleased at knowing that his cleverness had been recognised.

The Koya truthfulness:

Writers have begun to say that the Koya is slipping down slowly from a lofty pinnacle where they had placed him a decade before. There is no question of dishonesty in the Agency–there is nothing that the Koya can steal and profit by. So the question of honesty does not arise.

Education

The Koya is not inclined to give up his language with any amount of contact with Telugu. It shows the vigour of the dialect. It seems necessary to teach Koya children in their own language written in Telugu or other suitable script. Koya boys are available who have studied up to III Form; they may be given a special training and sent out as teachers. Text books can be prepared in the Koya language.

Health:

Malaria and Pneumonia take a heavy toll, but, a heavier toll is taken by Dysentery. It generally breaks out in August–September.

Yaws, known as the Koya disease, is now curable with 'neosalvarson' and the Koyas are taking to it. The disease requires to be hunted for and eradicated.

Sri Nandeswarudu has been successful in Dysentery cases with his "Herbo-medicinal" drugs. This appears to be some kind of Ayurveda.

The incidence of tuberculosis is great and Nandesvarudu estimates 50 cases in the Cherla firqa alone.

Medical aid now provided is inadequate. For 30 miles from Venkatapuram all around there is none avilable and even when a costly journey is undertaken there is difficulty in finding lodging at Venkatapuram.

The other Taluks have poor medical facilities. In the Rekapalle area, the Swami of Parentapalli maintains an itinerant dispensary with an Assistant Surgeon.

Industries :

Grass ropes are made and a market is all that is needed.

Vistrakulu or platter leaves can be made in plenty and so also broom sticks for which the grass is available.

Tunga mats ane manufactured. There is a forest seignniorage of one and a half annas per mat. (Dosikapalli is famous for this).

Tanning is done now with Maddi bark and Usirika leaves. The former makes trouble with the Forest department. The Koyas may be taught the use of Tangedu or wattle for tanning.

Textile :

There are 200 looms in Nugur taluk. Sales and Malas weave. They usually weave the Koya cloth, 12 cubits by 2 cubits. These weavers are not given any yarn quota. The looms are idle. The Koyas get the cloth from Rajahmundry which is costly. The Linga Koyas have a tradition for spinning. They have Charkhas but have no slivers. Netakani Koyas can spin as well as weave.

Iron Smelting :

This appears to have been a cottage industry that went on undeterred by competition until the forest laws about Sandra charcoal stopped the supply ot that smelting agent.

Sapka Pullayya of Koyyur, Cherla, says he can put up a furnace, and wants only permission to make the charcoal. The local opinion is that this iron is superior to other iron. They say that if these cottage furnaces are allowed to be revived, they will make all the iron for their requirements.

Silk Industry :

The forests and the Forest Department are involved in another matter also and that is the Tussar industry of the Koya. This appears to have died here whilst it is alive in the Nizam's area across the river.

In April–May, the Koya collects the Tussar Cocoons and hangs them in his hut. The copulation period is 15 days; during this, the males visit the females hung up by the Koya during moon-light. This is the Koya theory which has not been rationalised yet. The hatching is done in the Koya's hut. He rears the young worms on Nalla Maddi leaves for a week. Later he lets them feed on the trees themselves. He helps the worms to crawl from tree to tree by lopping branches so as to bridge it nicely for the worms. He watches them and protects them from birds etc. When the cocoon has developed he collects them and sells to weavers at Rs. 10/- per thousand cocoons. The cocoons are stifled as in Sericulture but spinning from pierced cocoons also is done.

In this industry, the forest department who value the Maddi trees, object to the lopping of branches. The Koya who so patiently and diligently watches and protects the worm on its savage course has not yet learned to domesticate the tussar worm.

A sericulture farm is in its infancy. It is at Bhadrachalam where the temperature reaches 105° or even more in summer. Mulberry grows. Soil is good though the temperature is high.

Cooler places must be available in the interior and, after all, the industry is meant for the Koya who lives up the hills.

Ericulture should be possible here since the average temperature ranges from 82° to 102°.

Cattle :

The forest demarcations are too close to the villages. They should be suitably removed so as to leave the vlllage cattle room to move about. It is also necessary to allow grazing in the forests or allot ample grazing grounds provided with water for the cattle. The Ongole breed thrive well here. The Sindhis have not yet been tried. But there is almost an unlimited scope for pastoral industries here. Many Koyas have no bulls for cultivation and for carts. They hire them and curiously enough the risks are borne by the owner, but the hire charges are 120 seers of grain per season.

Timber :

It is surprising that there is no depot in all this area where the timber extracted from the forests is sold. The Koyas have the privilege of getting Sandra and certain other varieties of timber from the "unreserve" for their own use. The others who form a considerable number have to get their timber from Rajamundry. It is apparent they do not wait till the timbers float down to Rajamundry and float back up to them; they rely on illicit fellings. One would have expected a number of timber industries to have flourished here. The Kammares are carpenters too.

Carts :

Carting of felled timber and other goods is a remunerative occupation. The Koyas have no carts. A cart will cost about Rs. 125/- It can be made here but the iron tyres are difficult to get.

Fisheries :

The Godavari with its affluents, chiefly the Taliperu, is the only source–Bocha, Jalla, Banda Jalla, Valaga and Matta Godisa are the chief varieties. Inland tanks have no fish. If any short season varieties are available they can be tried in the inland tanks. Destructive methods of fishing are employed.

Other Industries :

Ground-nut grows very well. Export ot the seed does not pay. Extracting the oil locally will make for self sufficiency. The same with Ippa — the export is to Bombay and Calcutta. The Koyas have a crude oil press, not a Ghani, but crushing between two flats. The Maganvadi Ghani can be introduced here.

The Beedi leaves will provide a basis for a good industry – The Koyas, especially women, may manufacture beedies since tobacco is available.

Iron, Red Oxide, Graphites and Coal are available. Great scope exists for organising the manufacture of paper pulp in small scale units.

Indebtedness

Credit facilities are badly needed. Indebtedness in Nugur ranges from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/- In some 10 cases in the Nugur taluq the bigger ryots have debts amounting to Rs: 500/- One has a debt of Rs. 1000/-. This man is Madakam Chinni who has 400 or 500 head of cattle and is cultivating 15 acres of paddy land under the Singasamudram tank. In the other taluqs indebtedness is heavy. In Polavaram it is almost hereditary and there seems to be no hope of paying the debts off. The Reddis of Chodavaram are heavily indebted to the Sowcars of Gokavaram. A heavy interest is charged. All fruit gardens–mangoes, oranges etc. are under mortgage, to them.

The Koya now borrows at 24% interest on big amounts. In the case of small loans Rs. 5/- or Rs. 10/-. the interest is on the Pechulu system which is more. This system requires that the loan is returned in kind at the threshing floor after harvest at the then market rate with interest calculated at 5 seers per rupee. Loan of grain is obtained on the Nagu–system by which for one bag loaned for consumption 1½ bags should be returned and for one bag of seed loaned two bags must be returned at the harvest. These systems are common in the plains but for the Koya they are difficult.

Mutadars are appointed by Government–generally hereditary but, after the fituris, loyalty was rewarded. From 1859 onwards the rebels were replaced by loyal ones. The Mutadar pays a peshkash to Government and taxes the village at Re. 1/4/-per house, In every crop, the Mutadar and the Village Munsif (elected and hereditary) have a share; also in any game hunted The Government gets only the peshkash. The Munsif is still the hereditary elected type. In a Muta of 16 villages, per village the tax is Rupees 40/- forty plus Rs. 3–12–0 Road cess. The Mutadar pays the Government for his sixteen villages, the peshkash of Rs. 40 plus Rs. 60 for road cess. He pockets the remainder and also gets a forest compensation of Rs. 500/- per annum. The Mutadar as an institution does not appear to have quite outlived its purpose. It should, however, be equated with the Kula Pedda. Tradition has some potentialities towards infusing a sense of order and creating confidence. Elected Muta Committees with the Mutadar as the executive office may be useful in the transition to democracy.

Communications:

Lack of communications is almost the first problem of the Agency tracts. Potentially rich agricultural land, valuable forests and even the little the hillmen produce now, are going to waste more or less. The inaccessibility, in a way, helps exploiters. Beyond the riverside strips in Bhadrachalam and Nugur, the interiors are still unknown. The Reddi country in Rekapalle and in Chodavaram is a sealed affair. A bridge across the Pamuleru will open up a fourth of this area. Along the river bank from Chundrupatla down to Bhadrachalam and thence to Kunavaram at the confluence of the Sabari and the Godavari, there is a road, passable in fair weather. The streams have no bridges. The road from Rajamundry to Chodavaram has now been extended to Maredumilli. If this is taken to Boduluru, and through the Kukkaleru basin to Lakkavaram, and thence to Pulusumamidi and Rekapalle it will open up the Reddi country. From Maredumilli, a circuit road via Vellamuru and Avagunta to Boduluru will also be useful. From Boduluru to Gurtedu with a branch to Pullangi and Devarakonda and the extension of the road from Ellesvaram to Adda Tigala to

Nimmalapalem, from Nimmalapallam again to Dutsarti via Nukarayi and to Ramavaram via Rayapalle, roads are very essential. The Dutsarti road can be taken on to Koyyuru via Dakodu and Ravallu.

In the Rekapalle area, roads are required and are possible from Lakkavaram to Sukkamamidi and to Kottamali on the Sileru. The tract to the west of the Sabari requires a road from Nandigama to Bandirevu and, thence to Sarvela, and another from Kasaram to Repaka and along the Sabari to Motu,

In the Polavaram taluq only short bits of road are required to talling not more than a hundred miles.

A Post and telegraph office at Chodavaram is badly needed.

BAGATA NADU.

This is the land of Bagatas or Bhaktas usually called the 'Gudem and Madugole Agencies'. It includes the scene of the last fituri — the fituri headed by Alluri Sri Ramarazu and the brothers Gantam Dora and Mallu Dora. The first two have immortalised themselves by their valiant deaths; the third, Mallu Dora, lives today near Sarabannapalem in the Golkonda Taluk, having returned to his native hills in 1937 from a life sentence after the fituri. Premier Rajaji of the first Congress Ministry of Madras ordered his release as almost one of his first acts.

Eastwards of Koya Nadu, along the Eastern banks of the Sileru runs the western boundary of this tract. The land is a jumble of steep and broken hills containing some fair plateaus at a level of 2,500 feet above sea level. In the south it drains northwards towards the Gureprau, a tributory of the Machkand. The Gureprau flows from east to west into the Malkangiri Taluk. The Machkand starting on the Madgole Hills in the north flows in a northward direction till it reaches the spot where it doubles itself and drops down into the Malkangiri Taluk of Odissa. This drop is the famous Duduma Falls. After the fall the river flows south-west under the name of Sileru upto 'Motu' where it joins the Sabari. The

Machkand or the Macheru, in its northerly course, past the great Yendrika Hills (5,188 feet) becomes an Antar Vaahini. Close to Yendrika, a barrier of rocks runs right across it and the stream plunges into a great cavity and vanishes - reappearing a hundred yards lower down past the barrier. It forms a great pool where it emerges from under the barrier. The pool is called Matsyagundam and is famous for the crowds of Mahseers of all sizes which flourish in it. These are wonderfully tame, the big ones feed fearlessly from one's hand and even allow their backs to be stroked. It is a fish sanctuary, for the Madugole Rajas venerated the fish. Macheru drains the area known as the Gangarazu Madugole Agency. South of it, the Paleru drains the area known as the Gudem Agency.

Below this pleateau region made up of Gudem aud Gangarazu Madugole are the Golagonda (modern Narasapatam) taluk, the Viravalli or Chodavaram taluk and the Sringavarapukota taluk and the slopes down to these plains are part of the tract we are dealing with.

Some of the heaviest jungles are seen on the plateau and on the slopes. On the Narsapatam side the hilly region extends to Sanjivikonda (2,145 ft.) famous for its medicinal herbs. They also extend to below Paderu in the Viravalli Area and to Anantagiri in the S. Kota Area. Near Gudem on the plateau one finds moist evergreen growth–tree ferns, maddi, galnuts etc. At Kondasanta, between Gudem end Madugole, splendid bamboos grow. There are many hill streams that can be tapped. Scant use is now made of them. The cultivation done is lazy. The inhabitants indulge in Podu or shifting cultivation–the favourite crop being Ragi. They prefer to live on the forest produce which includes an abundance of fruits-limes, oranges (loose jacket), guavas. mangoes, jack and tamarind, and turmeric, long pepper, mustard, bee's wax, honey and horns. The area is sparsely populated-about 46 to a square mile. Tigers, fevers and rebellion are said to have reduced the numbers. Yet, they are happy.

The population consists of many castes and tribes. But the chief and the most influential are the *Bagatas*. They were a soldier caste and appear to have been the devoted soldiery or the kings of Gollakonda, who, in appreciation of their loyalty, called them 'Bhaktas' and granted the lands on the plateau to them as 'Mokhasas'.

I have referred in Chapter II to these Konar Kings of Golla-konda and their possible connection with the Kurumborais who made the Pallava Empire. I have only to mention another fact. One of the greatest acts of the Pallavas of Kanchi was the campaign they led against certain inhuman religious practices that had at that time spread among some hill and forest peoples. The degeneration of Kurinji and Mullai into Palai brought with it the replacement of the childlike 'Muruga', and the sweet 'Muralidhara' by the bloodthirsty Palai Deity 'Durga'. 'Sakti' in the wildest form is what a people desperate with degeneration may court. The cult had gained ground throughout India. In the south, Paranjyoti, the Pallava Senapati, famous in later life as the Saint Chirutonda of Chengattangudi, after his victory at Vatapi, in which he eliminated the last external enemy to the Pallava Empire, relinquished office and undertook a 'crusade' against this religion which involved human sacrifice. The title Bhaktas given to mere soldiers suggests that they were of this army of 'Crusaders' in this area. This was 'Kui' land-Khondistan as it is called. The Meriah sacrifice continued till modern times in the interiors of the 'Kui' land but was not similarly in vogue in the area now designated 'Bagata Nadu'. The Bagata soldiers of the Konar or Pallava chiefs must have eradicated it thoroughly and established the Siva Religion. In Dasara. the Bagatas worship two things - one is the fishing basket, the other is a trident (Trisula) which is a very saivite symbol. The Ahimsa displayed in the treatment of the Mahseer in Matsyagundam above-mentioned is itself an indication of the Saiva spirit. Saivism of Tamilnad is insistent on vegetarianism and non-killing much more than Jainism and Budhism.

The 'Kuis' thus reduced were converted into the Kondakapus of to-day. The crusading soldiers were naturally made the rulers of the area under the title of Bagatas with the conquered 'Kuis' as their 'agrestic serfs'. In the new colony there was need for the blacksmith and the carpenter and other usual components of Hindu village life. These were furnished by the Kammari, Valmiki and Kummari, who appear to have been brought up from the plains from the respective Kamsala (Blacksmith or carpenter), Mala (weaver)

and Kummari (Potter), castes of the plains. It is significant that the Bagatas tolerate beef-eating and carrion-eating in the Konda-kapu but will not tolerate it in the Kammari and Valmiki whom they judge according to the standards obtaining in the plains and treat as untouchables.

Vizagapatam was, in ancient times, part of Kalinga, and the Ganga Kings of Kalinga were of Tamil origin. One notices the influence of the Tamil language and music even on the Odiyas who had spread into Kalinga from Utkala during this Tamil rule by the Gangas and the later Chola Gangas.

In proof of the Bagatas having been a soldier caste, the head of a single village in this area was called a 'Padal'; over a number of 'Padals' was the 'Naik' or 'Razu' and over them there was the 'Dora' who is the modern 'Mokhasadar', a name of modern origin and from modern terminology given by Odiya conquerors, and continued by the British. The name 'Padal' can be easilv traced to 'Padaiyal' (meaning army man) of Tamil. The Padaiachi community of the Tamilnad exists even to-day to testify to the Tamil soldiers 'Padai-al' (படையாள்) becoming a separate caste. I name this tract after these soldiers-rather the title Bagata which their ancestors earned for them-not merely for the sentimental historicity it inspires but also because of the fact that the Bagatas form the largest and most powerful community in the area.

Bagata Naidu's geography has been given in outline. It will be useful to define it more specifically. It is fortunate that in regard to Bagata Nadu we have no need to transgress Provincial borders as they exist to-day as we have to do in Koya Nadu and Jakara Nadu. There is however a small strip on the eastern banks of the Sileru from Dakarpada in the north to below Kondakomberu in the south which should go into this area so that the Machkand-Sileru becomes the natural boundary throughout. The area indicated as Bagata Naidu comprises (1) the whole of Gudem Taluk which includes the Gangarazu Madugole area called Hill Modugole. The whole area is 1,869 sq. miles. There were, in 1931, 25, 670 occupied houses with a population of 51,936 males and 50,162 females totalling

102,098. The Hill Modugole portions belong now to the Jeypore Zamindari and the land tenure is under the 'Muta' system. The Government area is under the ryotwari tenure. 76 out of 111 villages were settled in 1936.

(2) Gollakonda or Narasapatam - The Hill slopes in this taluk called agency portions make 120 sq. miles. with 29 villages. 4,744 occupied houses and 11,309 males and 11,503 females totalling 22, 817. It is under ryotwari tenure.

(3) Viravalli or Chodvaram taluk.—The hilly portions which are partially excluded total 361 sq. miles. It is below the Hill Madugole area and intimately connected with it. Paderu, nearby has a strategic position in respect of the whole of Bagata Nadu. It is entirely Zamindari being part of the Madugole Estate belonging to the Jeypore Zamindari. 60% of the population are hillmen and the others are only partly civilized. The area is divided into 5 Zamindari mutas. There are 1504 occupied houses with 3,716 males and 3628 females–7344.

(4) S' Kota taluk–The partially excluded portions called the Anantagiri agency amount to 257 sq. miles. The area includes the Araku Valley on the high road to Jeypore from Vizagapatam. Araku is now the centre of a great reclamation scheme, and commands the routs to Paderum Padwa and Gangarazu Madugola and the interior. It is divided into 9 Zamindari Mutas with 7031 occupied houses, 16,121 males and 16,110 females totalling 32,231. The Zamindars of Vizianagram and Jaipur divide this area between themselves.

In all Bagata Nadu will be an area of 2,607 sq. miles with a population 1,64,487 tribal people. The population consists of the following tribes or communities:

Major :

1. Bagata 2. Konda Dora or Konda Kapu 3. Gadaba 4. Kond 5. Muka Dora.

Minor :

1. Kotia 2. Parangu Porja 3. Porja (Jodias) 4. Mulias 5. Dhulias 6. Ghasi 7. Domba 8. Paidi 9. Valmiki 10. Kammari 11. Ojulu 12. Oginbe 13. Rona.

Bagatas :

We have said enough of their origin. Being soldiers they appear to have always looked with disdain on agriculture employing the Kondakapus as their agrestic slaves. This accounts for the confusion very often made between the two communities Bagatas and. Kondakapus. The former's dependence on the Kapu for cultivation had led to a fraternizing which went to such an extent that some of the kapus whilst at a distance from Bagatas agrandize to themselves the title 'Dora'. The Bagata knows them and calls them only as 'Kapus'. Konda Dora, Konda Kapu and Bagata are lumped together and called one and the same. In fact it is stated that Bagata, Rana, Padal, Dora and Majji all belong to one and the same tribe. We have seen that the Padal is the Bagata and the only one entitiled to the title 'Dora'. 'Rana' is an Odiya name corresponding to 'Padal' ('Rana' being the Sanskrit word for 'battle') 'Majji', however, is the title of the headman of the 'Kuis', or 'Konds'. It is relevant to draw attention here to the note on 'Kuis, (Konds) in the next Chapter on 'Jakara Nadu' regarding the identity of 'Konda Dora', 'Poraja Dora', Dora etc. In the 1941 census, only 13,536 persons were returned as Bagatas.

The Bagatas number nearly 50,000. They are seen all over the Upper Agencies in each and every Muta. The Bagata has now cast off his prejudice against agriculture and respects it as an useful and honourable occupation. 75% of them are now cultivators. They are experts at catching fish with long spears. The Mutadars are generally Bagatas. Despite their high status, their economic condition is low. 50% of them are in debts–the creditors usually being Sowcars from the plains, some of whom live in the Agency on this trade. The Bagata is addicted to drink, opium and gambling. They are Hindus and follow Hindu customs. A Bagata house is a pretty sight, neat and clean and very artistically plastered inside and outside with a kind of red 'Ochre'. They are usually splendidly situated in terraced streets like in Lammasinghi. They keep their brass and other vessels clean and shining. At Koyyur, however, the Bagata houses fall short of this standard. Just now, in the inland plateaus, cultivation is done in patches hidden away by jungles. Up

till recently the Bagata was in a rebellious mood. He now appears to be inclined towards a settled life, provided Government help him on. The forests which are the chief wealth of the area should also be a source of profit to the Bagata and other tribes living in this land. There is now every kind of grievance against the forest administration and the tribesmen may not learn to be kindly to forest conservancy and regeneration unless and until they are rehabilitated in the forests and made to look upon the forests as the one source of wealth they possess. Ownership induces love and who knows if the tribesmen of Bagata Nadu restored to the status of good and worthy citizens of this 'Kurunilam' and 'Mullai' will not themselves conserve and improve the forests on the most scientific lines.

Kondakapus:

In early reports on Konda Kapus the following remarks are noteworthy:—

" Contrasting strangely with the energetic, patriarchal and land reverencing Parja (Poraja) are the neighbouring indigenous tribes found along the slopes of the eastern Ghats – the Konda Doras, Konda Kapus and Ojas" – Cornish.

" Their language divested of Telugu and Odia is comparable with Poraja. They have entirely lost all rights to the soil and are at the mercy of later immigrants ".

" They will speak Telugu but a large number gave their caste name as the name of their language. I have since received a vocabulary said to be of these people. If this is correct the language is a dialectof Khond " – Stuart in Census report of 1891.

" One Durgi Patro, a Muta head, informed Mr. Padison that Konda Dora and Khonds are identical ".

" Konda Doras seem to be a section of the Khonds which has taken largely to Telugu speaking and adopted Telugu customs and is in the transitional stage - they worship the Pandavas and a deity called Talupulamma. They returned Pandava Kulam as the title of their caste " – Francis Census of 1900.

The Konda Kapus are divided into two sections, Pedda Kondalu and Chinna Kondalu. The former live on the hills; have hill customs and retain their semi-independent position while the latter live in lowlands and have come under Telugu domination. But both the Kondalus have no scruples against beef-eating; in this they are similar to the Khonds. The Chinna Kondalus have adopted the Telugu 'intiperlu' or house names in the place of totemistic divisions like 'Naga' or 'Bhag' and 'Kochima' (tortoise) etc. which are retained by the Pedda Kondalu. The Chinna Kondalu nave taken to Telugu names like Linganna and Ganganna whilst the Pedda Kondalu still name themselves after the week days in which they were born as 'Budhra', 'Sukra', etc. They retain also the tribal custom of marriage, following for instance, 'Eduru menarikam' (marrying father's sister's daughter) whilst the Chinna Kondalu adopt the usual Telugu menarikam (mother's brother's daghter). The Chinna Kondalu take the titles "Anna" or ',Ayya" when they are cultivators under Bagata landlords. But they call themselves Doras when under other circumstances they can do so. The Pedda Kondalu have no titles. The two, however, inter-marry and inter-dine.

Later on we shall see how all these plateaus and the neighbouring areas in Odissa form the cousiderable 'Khondistan'. It is, however, not a correct name, for the name 'Khond' is not correct. These people call themselves 'Kui' or 'Kuvinga' in the plural. The Telugu word 'Konda' derived from the Tamil 'Ko' or 'Kodu' is said to have given rise to the appellation 'Koduvaru' or 'Kondavaru' by which name the Telugus call the 'Kuvinga'. They are also sometimes called 'Kandas' and one section of the 'Kuvinga' actually returned themselves as 'Kandar'. It will be interesting, in this connection, to mention that the large backward community of 'Padayachis' already referred to, have the name 'Kandar' as one of their caste names.

The Konda Kapus reside in the Gangarazu Madugole Muta and number nearly a 1,000. Being attached to the Bagatas who are Mokhasadars, they call themselves Kapus only. The Konda Doras are seen in each and every Muta along with ordinary Bagatas. They number about 13,000. As Konda Doras, this tribe is found in the plains and the enormous number of 76,527 was returned from

the plains. They are also seen in the East Godavari District. 5541 in the hills and 2088 in the plains. The Dutsarty area of Golgonda was transferred to the Godavari district after the Fituri for reasons of strategy. It really belongs to Bagata Nadu and a bus service now connects this area with Koyyur.

Some Konda Doras in the plains took to crime and got notified under the Criminal Tribes Act. In the plains, in the Vizianagaram taluq they are rich enough to own lands and employ ryots under them. They are cultivators and labourers. Their economic condition is similar to that of Bagatas, their erstwhile masters. They are also addicted to drink, opium and gambling. They are in debts and all their produce, grains or other forest produce, goes to the creditors who keep on advancing them the necessaries of life. They eat carrion and have no scruples in the matter of eating. Yet they art not untouchables. They have long ago ceased to speak the 'Kui' language and talk only Telugu.

Valmikis :

They number nearly 22,600. They exist everywhere in the agency. Their social condition is low but they are very pushing and some of them are clever traders and have grown rich and are even purchasing lands in the plains. Ten per cent of the creditors to whom Bagata and Konda Kapu are indebted are Valmikis. The Valmiki has a tendency to exploit any one including his compatriots of the hills.

Kammaries :

Are the other untouchable class. 50% of them are cultivators. Some 20 % do carpentry work and the rest live on cooly. Their economic condition is very low. They do quite decent carpentry, no blacksmith's work and prepare articles with weeds; but they do not manufacture anything on a commercial scale. They eat carrion and are like Valmikis in the matter of their diet.

Kummaries :

These are potters from the plains who have settled in Gangarazu Madugole, Guttulaputti, Kilagada, Sukuru, Sujanakota, Paderu, Aradakota and Rudrakota Mutas of Gudem Taluk. Only 30 % live by the caste profession of pottery. The rest are cultivators.

They are like their brethren in the plains in the matter of their food etc. They do not eat beef and are not untouchables.

Muka Dora :

In the census of 1891 and 1901 they were returned as a sub-division of Konda Doras. The Zemindar of Pachipenta is one of this tribe. Members of this community reside in Bakuru, Sukuru, Paderu, Minamaluru, Kilagada and Aradakota Mutas. They live by cultivation and cooly. They do not eat carrion or beef. Their position is similar to that of the Bagatas in the social scale. They also apparently belonged to the Kui stock originally They recognise one Vantari Dora of Padmapuram as their head. They are agriculturists and pushing petty traders. They irrigate their lands with liquid manure in a manner similar to that of the Kunnuvans of Palni hill. They have two totemistic sections–the Kora Vamsam and the Naga Vamsam, who venerate the Sun and the Cobra respectively. One Peculiar custom among them is to celebrate the puberty of a girl by putting her in an enclosure made up of arrows.

They travel about with their pack bulls during the harvest season.

Khonds :

Khonds or Kuis reside in Gangarazu Madugole, Ginnelakota Kilagada, Rudrakota, Gomili, Kanjari, Minumalur, Bakuru, Kodapalli, Sukuru, Uppa, Burja and Gattumu Mutas in the north of the Gudem taluk. They have apparently spread from across the Odissa borders. Economic condition is the same as the others and indebtedness to Sowcars of the Plains is the rule. They make over all they produce for the interest alone on their borrowings. The Sowcars are said to make a gain of 75 to 100% on such produce. In the 1941 census, there were 39, 648 Khonds in the Agency areas and 14,891 Khonds in the plains of the Vizag district.

Gadabas :

This is a distinctive tribe unlike the Khond or Kui, unlike the Bagata or Telugu and unlike any of the others who are in the transitional stages of being Teluguised or Odiyaised. They extend along the lower slopes below the plateau and immediate plains, through Gollakonda, Chodavaram, Srungavarapukota, Salur and

Andra. Their real homes are Jeypore, Malkangiri, Koraput and Pottangi Taluks. But a good number of them have skipped the plateau where the Bagatas ruled and now occupy these lower regions. The Gadaba and his language are said to belong to the Munda group. The Gadaba headman sometimes has the same name 'Gamang' as the Sora. They name their children after the week days on which they were born. In the plains they are nowadays taking tp names like 'Ramudu'. 'Lachigadu' and 'Arjanna'. The woman's dress among Gadabas is distinctive and characteristic. They weave it on a most primitive loom themselves. It is made of hand spun jungle fibre called 'Boddanara' in Telugu used for the warp with cotton thread as woof. The cloth is woven with stripes of red, blue and white. Even the dyeing is done by themselves–Indigo for blue and the seeds of 'Morinda Citrifolia' for red. They eat beef like other hill tribes and likewise have escaped being treated as untouchables for that reason. They cremate their males; women and children are buried. They erect stone slabs as memorials to the dead. The one characteristic ornament of the Gadaba women is the enormous ear–ring made of brass wire which is large enough to lie on their shoulders.

The name Gadaba is sometime connected with the river 'Godabari,' but the Gadabas have never been anywhere near that river. It may be as proper to trace it to Kadava in Tamil, because of their prominent ear–rings. 'Kadu' (காது) in Tamil means 'ear'. It may be more proper to derive it from the Sanskrit 'Gatvara' which may become 'Gadabara' or 'Gadaba'. 'Gatvara' means locomotive and the caste profession of Gadabas is the bearing of palanquins and palanquin bearers may deserve the adjective 'Gatvara'. Another derivation may be from the Sanskrit 'Kadvada' which means 'speaking indistinctly'. There is no more indistinct speech than that of the Gadaba; their words are rarely heard. Kadvada also means vile or contemptible.

The Gadabas of the slopes and plains have forgotten the sept names–Kora. Bhag. Nag, Kira (Parrot) and Gollari (Monkey). They however, will not kill or injure certain animals, e. g. Cobra.

The chief deities worshipped are Ganga Devi or Takurani, Iswara or Mouli. Bhairava and Jhankara. Jhankara is the God of land, rainfall and crops. The Puja is done in a sacred ground surrounded with a circle of stones. The place itself is called 'Jhankara.' Ganga. Eswara and Mouli get temples but, as a rule, no buildings. Only trees and stones indicate the deities. Eswara gets a she–buffalow in 'Chitra', Ganga gets pigs, goats and pigeons.

The priest is called 'Kirasani'. In the hills, the headman is called 'Janni' or 'Nayako' and in the plains, 'Naidado'. The Gadabas observe the Ittakaparva festvial :— a hunting feast in March-April This happy festival in which every thing makes for jollity is falling into desuetude like other good Hindu festivals.

The Gadabas of Jeypore have always been different from these Gadabas of the lower slopes. The former speak a 'Patois' of Odiya which is unintelligible to the latter. We have already referred to the fact that the Gadabas are by tradition palanquin bearers. They have a prejudice against the horse which they will not touch – perhaps. they consider it their rival as a means of transport. They were once hunters too, but this has gradually decreased. They are. in six sub-divisions – (1) Bodo or Gutob (2) Ollaro; (3) Parenga; (4) Kalloyi; (5) Kapu and (6) Kathiri or Kathara. Bodo is also called Boda from Bodaluvade the fibre which is used in the Gadaba cloth. They numbered 4,479 in the 1931 census, but since their principal home in Jeypore area was transferred to the Orissa Province, we have only the Gadabas on the slopes who, in 1941, numbered 14,043 in the areas mentioned above. They all belong to the Kapu and Kathara sub–divisions who claim to be Bodos and Ollaros migrated from the hills.

The 'Ghorojavai' system by which a man works for a stated period for his future father–in–law, is practised by Gadabas.

The fibre used for the Gadaba cloth is from (1) a shrub called 'Kerang' (Calotropis gigantea) (2) sillo luvada or ankudi–chettu (holarrhena anti dyoenterica); (3) boda luvada or bodda–chettu (ficus glomerato). Perhaps, from this name 'Kerang', Kapu Gada–bas were returned in 1871 as 'Kerang' Kapus.

Mr. H. G. Turner recorded the numerals in use with 'Kerang Kapus' as below :

(1)	Moi	—	1
(2)	Umbar	—	2
(3)	Jugi	—	3
(4)	O	—	4
(5)	Malloi	—	5
(6)	Turu	—	6
(7)	Gu	—	7
(8)	Tammar	—	8
(9)	Santing	—	9
(10)	Goa	—	10

After 10, the numerals go on as Gommoi–11, Gombaro etc., up to 19 only. The Gadabas have similar names to-day, but up to 5 only after which they resort to Odiya numerals. The Bonda Porajas, another tribe, in Malkangiri Taluk, have similar numerals which were recorded by Mr. Francis as 'Muyi', 'Bar', 'Gil', 'Oo', 'Moloi', 'Thiri', 'Goo', 'Thamam' and so on up to 19 only. Twenty is not known. The Gutob Gadabas, after 5, go on with 'Muyithitti which means 1 plus a hand equal to 6 and 'Marditti' which means 2 plus a hand equal to 7.

In 1941, there were 7,066 males plus 6,967 females – total 14033 Gadabas in this area and the neighbouring Parvatipur and Salur Taluks. In the census report of 1891, a thousand Gadabas are returned as belonging to the Chenchu sub–division. They are perhaps, 'Bonthuks' or Banthuk Savaras who are a different tribe altogether.

Apart from these, there are the following tribes which are called minor ones because they are only in small numbers. They are:-

(1) Kotia (2) Parengu Porja (3) Porja (Jodias) (4) Mulias (5) Dhulias (6) Ghasi (7) Domba (8) Paidi (9) Valmiki (10) Kammari (11) Ojulu (12) Oginbe (13) Rona.

The apparent maze of names of tribes gets somewhat resolved on examination into more tangible units.

Poroja:

The Porojas are not one caste or tribe speaking one language. There are Porojas attached to different castes, and there are seven such Porojas. The name Poroja has always escaped easy and direct interpretation. Attempts have been made to trace it to 'Putra' and 'Raja' – 'Po' being said to stand for 'Putra'. If this were accepted, Porojas will be Rajaputs! The easier derivation is from the Sanskrit Praja. Poroja is the wrong spelling in English of the Odiya form. The first vowel of the Magadhi langauges always tricks one ihto using an "O" in the Roman script. The Porojas are good cultivators and are very much attached to land. The landlords were the Koya, Kui or Khond, Munda, Gadaba and Odiya and the Porojas were the subjects or Praja cultivating the lands. The similarity of the Tamil Paraya may be noted.

(1) The Barang Porajas		— speak a dialect of the Odiya language
(2) The Pengu	,,	— speak a dialect of the Kui do.
(3) The Khondi	,,	— speak Kui
(4) The Parengi	,,	— speak Gadaba
(5) The Munda, Banda Nanga or Langla	,,	— speak Gadaba
(6) The Tagara Porajas	,,	— speak Koya
(7) The Kur or Didayi	,,	— speak Odiya

The Porajas in Bagata Nadu are the Pengu and the Parengi types who are respectively attached to the Kui-Khonds and the Gadabas. In the 1941 census, the Poroja population in this are: was 7,720 plus 6,738 – 14,458.

The *Domb* is the Odiya proto-type of the *Pydi, Valmiki* or *Pano*. Though each protests its independent origin they are all untouchables, beef-eaters and originally *Malas* of the plains. They are all weavers though the Valmikis have now taken to trade in the Gudem hills. The Domb, Pydi and Pano seem to have lived among the Kui people from a very ancient date. They used to supply the victims for the "Meriah" sacrifice. They would kidnap youths from the plains and feed them up for this purpose. Because of this service, the otherwise aristocratic Khond allowed liberties to the Panos which has led to an admixture of Pano blood in the Kui. In the "Dangdi basa" or virgins'

hall and bachelors' dormitory of a Kui village, the Pano has access and though marriages do not take place, lapses are winked at. Yet, the Kui has a contempt for the Pano as a low thieving rascal. He cannot however resist him and will be led by the nose by him. In the 1941 census there were 20,651 Domba in the new Vizag. district (i. e.) in this as well as the next tract we are dealing with, viz: Jakara Nadu. There are 522 Panos. The Pydies appear to have been mixed up with Dombs.

The *Kotias* or Paikos are of Odiya origin and as their name Paiko indicates are relics of the old militia.

The Ghasi is of Odiya origin again and another name for Haddi. They are very few in Bagata Nadu. They were syces and used to look after horse stables. They probably also fetched the grass for the horses. I have referred to the Gadaba palanquin bearer's hatred of the Ghasi and the horse.

The *Mulia* or Muli, *Oginbe* and *Oja* are blacksmiths and carpenters like the Kammari. The Oja is a Telugu, eats beef but is somewhat superior to Pydies. They are also called Mettu Kamsalis or upland blacksmiths.

The Gaudu is the Odiya shepherd.

The *Rona* is again the incorrect English spelling of Rana which means battle. I have already said that the Rana is the Odiya version of the Padal. They have now taken to cultivation. They were formerly retainers of the old local chiefs after the Odra occupation of the Kui land. Through coercion and cajolery they secured estates for themselves from the lands of the conquered Kui, originally cultivated by the Porajas. The Porja was the real Praja but this soldier class slowly usurped some of their lands. They have a tradition tracing their decent to seven brothers who had come from somewhere and taken service with the Rajas of Nandapur, former capital of Jeypore. Their first settlement was at Borra. They have the title Paiko. They married into other castes, Odiya as well as hill tribes. They have four divisions. Odiya Paiko is the highest socially, perhaps because of some Odiya blood which is considered to be

Kshatriya. Rana Paiko, is the original caste. Kotia Paikos are descendants of Rana Paiko's through women of the hills. The name should really be 'Kuttiya,' meaning a hill. Pattiya Paikos are descendants of the Kuttiyas and hill women.

The Ranas observe some customs which are similar to those of Muka Doras. They have totemistic septs and the totems are Kora–Sun, Bhag – tiger, Nag – Cobra, Khui budi – bear and Matsya – fish. They also observe the Muka Dora custom ot building an enclosure with arrows for girls attaining age.

A Rana may marry a paternal uncle's (father's brother's) daughter which is peculiar. Widow remarriage is allowed and the younger brother usually adopts the elder's widow. Divorce is allowed. They eat animal food but beef is banned. Socially they are next only to Brahmans and this status is granted even to the sections born of hill tribe women.

This Payak caste assumes the title Nayak. They recognise a headman called Bhatta Nayaka residing at Nandapur.

Dhulias or *Dulias* are a small sect of Odiya cultivators. They wear the sacred thread. They are vaishnavas. They eat fish. Widow remarriage is allowed. The name is derived from Dhuli – dust or Dholi – a form of palanquin.

The land tenure varies in different parts of this tract. In the. Government areas a number of villages have been settled and hill men here have ryotwari holdings. In the unsettled areas the old Muta system prevails. The Mutadar is recognised and pays the government a kind of Pesh Kash and collects from the tillers a tax at Rs. 2/– per Kuncham of seed sown in the case of paddy, and half a rupee per Eru or plough in case of other cereals. The cultivation is generally Podu or shifting cultivation which shifts once in three years. To give an idea of a Muta: Peddavalasa Muta has 50 villages; Paderu has 30, and Gangarazu Madgole as many as 233 including the sub-Muta of Killamkota. But the villages are, as a rule, small.

In the Zamindari areas, the Mutadar is practically the king As a relic of his old chieftainship an annual tribute is paid by every householder. It is said to consist of a day's labour during the year, a fowl and a few pumpkins. It is alleged against the Mutadar that

the labour he claims is usually for some 7 to 10 days per year. This seems probable and resembles the Paiko system in Odissa and is perhaps a relic of the old military state, when the conquering Bagatas levied this from the Kondalu. This is what is called *Vetti* and is the subject of great complaints–not so much by the hillmen themselves but by visiting sympathisers.

Whatever may be said against the system, it must be recognised that the Muta system is devoid of the ugly features one notices in the agrestic slavery in Kerala, Nilgiris and Anamalais, where the Pāniyan, Mavilan, Vettuvan, Kurumban, Malasar, Kadan etc. slave for the Nayar Janmi or the European planter. The Bagata rules, but he also fraternises. He has just the sanction of tradition behind him and cannot impose his will on the ryots with any coercion. He is himself a hillman and cannot bring about even a suggestion of a police and law courts. In olden days the system must have made for well ordered communes - of villages bound together by personal loyalty as well as economic and social homogeneity. The Muta may still be rendered into an useful institution. It is often forgotten that above the Mutadar there is a Zamindar. Divested of that factor - the Muta has in it all the elements that will go to achieve a direct democratic administration and prompt execution of public works. The Mutadar of the present day is not educated. He needs to be educated but not on our S. S. L. C. lines.

Complaints have been made against the Muta system in some socalled hill tribes conferences promoted by plainsmen and held in the towns of the plains. One who visits the hill villages can see that the Mutadar is not such a sinner. He is by no means a rich Zamindar. He is as miserable economically as other hillmen. Socially he enjoys a prestige. The only way in fact, in which he shows his superior status is to take a large number of wives. A Mutadar can marry upto seven wives and many have four or five each already. The vacancies are perhaps reserved in view of a windfall in the event of an elder brother's death. The younger takes on the elder's widows in the Vali-Sugriva fashion; but mostMutadars are likely to be the eldest ones of their families.

JAKARA NADU.

The God of land, rain and good crops, a God without a form, without a temple and without wife or child, one without a second, that is Jhakara worshipped from time immemorial by the millions of the Kalinga uplands now represented by the Khond, the Savara and the Gadaba. He is simply represented by a big stone under a tree or mere empty space encircled by stones. I call this third and last portion of the Partially Excluded Areas of Madras after this ancient God who is still supreme among the tribes in this area. Jhankara is no animist deiety. Jhankara seems to be the 'SUN' who is considered the supreme God and responsible for all good things in life. But quite early in their history the Kuis seem to have discovered the "EVE" in the 'Tara Pennu' – the Earth Goddess. She brought the forces of evil into life and had to be propitiated before she would let the Kui have good crops. 'Pennu' is now taken to mean 'god' or 'goddess' in the Kui language. But read as Tamil it will be தரைப் பெண் meaning the "lady earth". It is to her that a section of the Kuis offer the sacrifices. Usually it is a buffalo that is sacrificed and some years ago the victim was a human being. (See notes on Pano in Bagata Nadu). The non - sacrificing Kuis worship the Sun alone; the sacrificing sections worship the Sun but also wish to keep on the right side of the lady by propitiating her. It is worth noting that Jakara does not sound unlike Dhiyakara the 'light - maker' or Divakara 'day - maker'. Jakara is the God of all Kui land (Khondistan) and perhaps, connected with the Sun worship of Konarak. Kui Nadu includes Ganjam and Koraput districts of Odissa, Bod, Daspalla, Kalahandi, Patna and Nayagad states and extends across the Mahanadi into Angul and the Khond Mahals.

In Kui land, the Odiya is a foreigner, and is still so after centuries of rulership and contact The Kuis are definitely a Tamil people. Their language is a dialect of Tamil akin to Telugu though many Odiya words have crept in. They have their totems - Tiger, Cobra and Tortoise generally and rarely, monkey, bull, cow, dog, bear, iguana, goat, lizard, parrot, peacock and vulture, pumpkin, stone and the Sun. Translated into Telugu (A Tamil language) these

names will correspond to housenames–intiperlu–usually adopted by Telugus of the past and present; Nemalla, Degala, Mekala, Puli, Ralla, Edla, etc., are quite common.

The marriages among Kuis are by all the forms that were recognised by ancient Hindus. The forms include marriage by purchase, by service with the bride's father, by mutual consent, elopement, capture and by selection from the Dangadi Basa. The first three are in vogue among the plainsmen amongst whom the purchase has, in recent times, become that of the man instead of the woman; "Illatam" son-in-law of the plains is only a stretching of the service method; mutual consent is of late, coming into fashiom; in the plains elopement and capture as such are prohibited by law and may occur only in civilized garbs.

The Dangadi Basa is unknown in the plains, but is, in fact, an ancient institution. Rama had his first sight of Sita whilst passing the Kanyaka Matam according to legend, song and drama. It is only those hill tribes that have kept up this socially useful intitution. We will see another tribe in the south, the Jen Kurumbas, having their virgins' hall and their "vagabonds'" quarters. புண்டுகர் சாவடி. – Pundugar Chavadi

The usual way is for the boy's parents to propose but the tribesmen have provided for the abnormal too and one should admire them for the bold way in which they face facts. The ultimate social good by way of developing a sense of corporate life is what they aim at and that, they secure, by adhering to that admirable feature of old Hindu Life - Viz. the recognition of all children as legitimate - a feature which the civilized plainsmen alas, has allowed to vanish from his society. Divorce and widow re-marriage are allowed; a younger brother usually marries his elder's widow, but in case the widow marries outside the husband's family, a *Rand Tanka* - Widow's money- is to be paid. This is obviously for the children of the previous marriage.

The Kuis cremate their dead.

We have seen that the Kuis extended further south into the Vizagapatam district also and that in the Bagata Nadu they have

become Konda Kapus and are teluguised. In the area, we are now considering, the Kuis are not the wild barbarous ones seen in Ganjam but a community which is in a state of transition from the bold yet simple and dignified mountain peasantry to tillers of the plains. The really pure Kuis are the Dongria (jungle) Kuis of Bissamkatak, the Desya of Nimgiri and the Kuttiya (hill) of Gunpur. The Kuis on the slopes towards the Vizagapatam coast are more in contact with plainsmen. The Kuttiyas call their civilised brethren as Porojá Dora, Konda Dora, Dora, Jatapu Dora, Janapa Dora and Muka Dora. The title Dora is because of the teluguisation. We have already seen the Konda Dora and the Muka Dora. The Jatapu is the chief subject to this note. The full name of the tribe is Konda - Jatapu Dora, or the Dora of the hill caste. They speak a kind of Kui. They worship the great Jakara with their priests called Jannis and their sooth-sayers called "Dissaries". But they have mixed their exogamous totems with the Telugu *intiperlu*. They perform their marriages after the plains' fashion though they do not wear the 'tali'. The Jatapus number 56,641 in the 1941 Census. In 1931, they totalled 78,132. The decrease is due to the formation of the Odissa Province in which the dismemberment of the homelands of Koya, Kui and Sora were not considered as serious. The Jatapu are only one sect of the large Kui race and their fate is similar to that of the Koyas.

Alongside of the Jatapus live the Soras who numbered in the 1941 census 14,684. In 1931, before the bifurcation they had numbered 51,651. The bulk of this great tribe are in the neighbouring tracts of Odissa. The Sora had made a home for himself on the hills east and north-east of Gunupur at some remote period. His cousins according to linguistic affinities are further up in Odissa and on the Chota Nagpur plateau. In this province, the sections in contact with plainsmen called the Pallapu (low land) or Kapu (ryot) soras are found in the Palakonda area. The Soras speak their own language. Through long association with the Kui or through some forgotten common origin the Soras worship the great Jakara whom they call Loddalu also. But the two tribes will not intermarry. The Sora will eat in a Jatapu's house but a Jatapu will not eat in a Sora's as he considers him inferior. The hill Soras ,on

the other hand, propitiate a deity called Jalia. There are also Gadabas and some Kuis, Muka Doras and Konda Doras in the Salur taluk of this area. There are besides Paidies and Sondis, but all these together make up only a small number.

The area includes the agency portions of the Salur, Parvatipur and Palakonda taluks of the Vizagapatnam district. Population is 69,294 and area is 146 square miles. But the tribesmen have extended into the adjacent lowlands also in the three taluks. In the case of the Jatapus, the bulk of them occupy the plains areas.

Parvatipur and Salur are both Zamindari areas and the largest Zamindar is the Raja of Kurupam. Palakonda is a Government area. 103 out of 104 villages were settled in 1941 and are under ryotwari tenure. There are, besides, 4 Mokhasa villages. The tota surveyed area is 14,972. 11 acres and the density of population is 83 per square mile.

Palakonda is the richest taluk of the district. It is drained and irrigated by the perennial Nagavali called also *Langulya* and its tributary Suvarnamukhi. The taluk is very densely populated. The odinary or non-excluded tracts form level plains, one half of which is paddy fields. The agency or partially excluded tract is a belt 32 miles long by 8 miles wide consisting of a group of low hills on the north, the highest of which runs up to 3,000 feet. Streams rising in these hills drain into Nagavali. The Jatapus and Soras live here. Cultivation is just now emerging from the Podu state. The Jatapu has settled down to cultivation with plough and cattle at the foot of the hills but the Sora clings to the hills and to his only agricultural implement the "Kan Ka" which is all he needs for Podu cultivation.

The forests have been ruined by fire and Podu. Sal is found in patches, also some iron wood and satin wood and other good trees. The largest reserves here area :—

(1)	Barnakonda	..	13,517 acres.
(2)	Kadagundi	..	11,064 „
(3)	Antikonda	..	6,969 „
(4)	Palakonda	..	4,580 „

The Sitampeta pass running from Palakonda connects to the Ganjam district of Odissa.

The average rainfall is about 50 inches most of which is from the S. W. Monsoon. There are 21 minor irrigation tanks irrigating 20 villages. Paddy and Ragi are the chief crops. The North East Monsoon is useful for the 'Chittadi' or short paddy crop and Ragi which is known here as Resangi Chodi. There are 102 geddas (streams) and springs irrigating a total Ayacut of 2,176.94 acres. The recent settlement shows 7373.92 acres paying an assessment of Rs. 9,755-15-0.

The gods are not forgotten by the hillmen, and Jakara and Durga have been alloted 17.48 acres in four different villages.

In the Parvatipur area the Jatapus have regular cultivation but in many cases their best lands have passed on to Sowcars in lieu of debts. The Jatapus have been reduced to mere farm coolies, and in their efforts to pay off the Sowcar indulge in a lot of Podu cultivation.

The Savaras here also do only Podu. A good amount of tobacco is grown by the hillmen in 104 villages of Parvatipur.

The hillmen do not know the value of their produce. They are too indolent to go down to the open market in search of a fair deal. They wait for the Sowcar of the plains who manages to come up when the hillmen are hard up for cash and takes the produce for what he likes. There are various ways by which the hillmen get indebted and in every one of them the hillmen place themselves at the mercy of the Sowcars in spite of the laws and regulations enacted to ensure his freedom from bondage. Credit is obtained in three ways:—

1. At a rate of interest amouting to 2 Kunchams per rupee and Nagu or loan of seed with cent per cent interest, if for seed, and 50% if for consumption.

2. Kandagutta–by this the land is given away for enjoyment by the creditor for 8 to 10 years and return of loan is to be by

instalment, each instalment being the year's enjoyment by the creditor.

3. Bhoga Bandha–by this, the land passes to the creditor and the crop counts towards interest only.

One instance will do to show the havoc done by these debts. Mutaka Malanna of Davanapuram, a Jata, took Rs. 800/– in the shape of 50 putties of paddy ten years ago. Even at present rate 50 putties will make only Rs. 400/– He has paid Rs. 400/– in cash and also paddy at 7½ to 10 putties per year all these 10 years. The debt is not yet cleared and the Sowcar holds him for the original Rs. 800/–.

The tribesmen when told to obtain credit from Government sources promptly said "how will you give us quick accomodation in small amounts which we always need?" What seems to be required here and elsewhere is a warehouse combined with a small bank at different centres, which will collect the hillmen's produce and and also afford the credit facilities he requires. See Part III.

The Jatapus are really keen on their agriculture. At Sitampeta, they asked for the application of the cattle Trespass Act in order to protect their crops from cattle that stray. They also agree to give up podu is facilities for settled cultivation - credit, implements, seed - are provided. There is perhaps some provision to provide these now but what the tribesmen require is a difinite captaining of their agriculture and other work. They plead for the construction of more dams across the geddas for improving irrigation.

Scarcity of cloth is felt keenly here. In this connection, the plight of the Pydies who are the weavers is to be noted. The Pydi does not get yarn for weaving. The 'Charka' is not known here and hand spun yarn is not available.

The Kuis worship some other deities besides Jakara - the Konda devatas, nameless mountain spirits dwelling in caves, Polamma of the Telugus, Brahma Rakshas - set up as life size mud images holding grinding stones between their knees - and also Kasi Visvewara. Once

in five or ten years a big festival is performed. The Jatapus call it the festival of Asiramma (is it Asuramma?) and the Soras, that of Ayaeu.

Dancing is the most popular diversion as with all hill tribes. Men and women dance separately. In the make up for the dance, there is some similarity between the Koya and the Kui. The Kui dance like the Savara's is rather clumsy. The Gadabas stamp about heavily. The Koya girls dance prettily but the Jodia Poraja girls perform the really delightful dance.

Kuis have been surrounded on all sides by people speaking various languages. Within their territory communications have been poor. The language therefore, varies locally, influenced by Chattisgadi, Odiya and Telugu. But the differences are not great and if ever the Kuis get back their own, there is a virile language that may take its place alongside of others in India. Even as they are, it is necessary that the language is learnt and written and taught to Kuis in the different states and provinces in which they live. The proper script for Kui will be the simple Tamil script with slight additions. But Telugu is the regional language and unless the Kuis go into another Province that will be the convenient script.

The Jatapus are taking to Telugu speaking but the Sora will not. For the Sora language, the international phonetic script has been suggested but whether the Sora will even learn it and whether, when learnt, it will be of any use to him in this country where he has to learn at least one other language, is open to controversy. Nagari, rendered lighter, will probably be the best script for all languages in India and for these two also.

The children of both the tribes are now being taught Telugu in schools specially intended for them but the children must learn Telugu first before they can learn anything from the teacher. It needs a lot of persuasion naturally to make the children attend school. As a matter of fact, they do not.

The Jatapus and Soras are not addicted to drink as Koyas and others are. They indulge in it only during festivals when drink is offered to the Goddess. Since a religious sentiment is involved here, prohibition, when it comes, should take account of this fact.

TRIBES OF KERALA.

The district of Malabar is the part of Kerala in this province. Of the numerous castes and tribes here that are in a backward and even barbarous state, many are counted among the Depressed classes or Harijans. For example, the Cheruman and Nayadi are classed as such. The hill tribes alone are taken under the category o "aborigines". The Government's list published in G. O. No. 1869, Public (Political), dated the 14th November 1938, gives the following tribes :-

(1) Kurichan, (2) Kuruman, (3) Paniyan, (4) Irulan, (5) Adiyan, (6) Muduvan and (7) Kurumban.

Of these, the Irulan really belongs to Kongumandala. His chief habitat are the Nilgiris and the Attappadi valley which is geographically and otherwise part of the Coimbatore district. The Muduvan or Mudukan is an Anamalai tribe which extends into the adjacent Kollengode hills and the hills of Cochin State. The Kuruman is the same as Kurumban and a meaningless distinction has been made in the last Census. There are of course three types of Kurumbar, but the distinction made in the 1941 census does not seem to indicate these sections. The Kurumbar exists in the Nilgiris, in the neighbouring Mysore forests and in the Wynaad taluk of Malabar which again is a geographical part of the Nilgiris and was in fact in that district some time ago. I shall deal with these tribes in my notes on the Anamalais and Nilgiris.

We then have, of the above list, the Kurichan, the Adiyan and the Paniyan. But there are other tribes in Malabar who are not merely hill tribes but are also in such a primitive state that they will deserve attention sooner than any one else in the province. The miserable plight in which these tribes have been allowed to exist till to-day within 20 to 40 miles of civilized life makes a sad comment on our national consciousness, our religion and our Culture. It is due to ourselves to do something to remove this blot and resussitate these lost tribes and give them, firstly, the primary needs - food and clothing.

These are the Eranadans of the Nilambur forests, the Mavilans, Vettuvans and Karimpalans of Chirakkal taluk. In this, therefore, I give short notes on these seven tribes.

The problem of the Mavilan, Karimpalan and the Vettuvan is really the problem of opening up the Chirakkal taluk so that civilisation may penetrate some twenty miles from Cannanore on the Coast. The Eranadan needs to be clothed and fed, and the Paniyan, freed from slavery. The Adiyan's case is similar to that of the Kurumban, his neighbour. The Kurichan alone seems capable of looking after himself. His bow has not lost its characteristic polish and his arrow is still sharp. His women are sprightly yet modest housewives and his boys devoted husbandmen.

There are other hill tribes, viz., Malakkaran, Malayan and Kadan. Short notes on these are also given. Of these, Malakkaran is a superior caste. The Malayan and Kadan belong to the jungle only in their names. They are small communities moving about in the plains. This Kadan is not to be confused with the Kadar of the Anamalais.

The Eranadans: also called Arunadans, are the most primitive of all the hill tribes north of the Palghat gap. They are a small black race, short of stature, with thick bushy hair and broad noses. They are considered the lowest amongst even the untouchables. They pollute all others within a 100 yards. Even Paniyans and Pariahs give them a wide berth, and they cannot come within a hundred yards of a village. They are evidently negroid foreigners imported from abroad.

They use bows and arrows-principally for shooting monkeys; they have a partiality for the monkey's flesh. They were not particular as to what they ate and were on a par with jackals in this respect. They used to devour snakes and putrid flesh of various animals.

They extract an oil from the python which is said to cure leprosy.

The father of a family used to take his eldest daughter as a second wife. This is now said to have been given up.

They are employed in felling trees in the Nilambur forests. They also cultivate fields for Mahomedans. They wear scanty clothing and even plantain leaves when hard up.

Population:	1891	—	87 plus 79	—	166	
	1901	—	56 plus 59	—	115	
	1911	—	94 ,, 88	—	182	
	1921	—	59 ,, 60	—	119	
	1931	—	33 ,, 27	—	60	
	1941	—	235 ,, 254	—	489	

Chief habitat is the Ernad taluk near Nilambur.

Mavilan

Is a North Malabar tribe omitted in the 1941 census. They are shikaries and herbalists. They speak a corrupt Tulu.

The tribe was returned as follows in the previous years:—

1881	—	1521 plus 1394	—	2815	
1891	—	1399 ,, 1191	—	2590	
1901	—	1143 ,, 1005	—	2148	
1911	—	1363 ,, 1164	—	2517	
1921	—	930 ,, 807	—	1737	
1931	—	799 ,, 542	—	1341	All in Chirakkal taluk except for 25 men in Ernad.

They are divided into Tulu Mavilans and Eda Mavilans and subdivided into 80 Illoms. They are employed as mahouts. They collect honey and forest produce. Their headman is called Chingam சிங்கம் (Simham-lion). Their huts are called Mapara.

Tadikadavu, Panappuzha, Kuttar, Vayakkara and Perumbon are the places where they live. The Chirakkal taluq is notoriously poor in communications and forms a little unknown island in the otherwise wellknown Malabar district. Even for reasons other than the amelioration of the Mavilan and the Vettuvan, it is high time this taluq was opened up and brought into touch with the rest of

Malabar. It is to-day the Red Fort of the Communists of Malabar and ignorance and consequent poverty reign supreme here.

Vettuvas :

Of Chirakkal taluk are a low caste jungle tribe treated as depressed classes and hence not shown separately. They have two endogamous divisions — Kodi and Peringala. Kodi women keep their hair long and wear a cloth. The Peringala women were till recently dressing themselves in leaves - a kind of a double fan'- shaped apron of leaves tied round the waist by a rolled cloth. This they renew daily. They wear their hair in a top knot.

They call their huts Kudumbus ; they are made of split bamboo and thatched with elephant grass. Kudumbu is evidently a corruption of Kurumbu - a village in Palai (Part I.)

They are divided into 14 illoms named after the house names of the Janmies whom they serve. Their headmen are appointed by the Janmies and are called Kiran or sometimes Para Kutti (drummer).

Vettuvans, like Mavillans, live in the interior parts of the Chirakkal taluk.

Upwards of 440 square miles or nearly 2/3 of this taluk is unoccupied dry land, uncultivable rock and jungle mostly. The growing of thatching grass in the large areas in the centre is a peculiar feature of the taluk.

Punam is the principal dry cultivation. Pepper is grown in the north and north east in the forest and known as Taliparamba pepper. Cardamoms and Nendra Plaintain also grow. There are no Government forests in this taluk.

The Vettuvans are also called Vettuva Pulayans. They are agrestic serfs. There is a caste of the same name in Salem, Coimbatore and Madura, who are descendants of Vedars who served as soldiers under Kongu Kings. The Kongu Kings had invited the vedars from the Chola, Pandya realms to assist them against the Chera.

Our Vettuvans are agrestic serfs, shikaries and collectors of forest produce. They live in the cocoanut plantations of Nairs and other landlords. Within the two endogamous divisions - Kodi and

Peringala - they are exogamous as regards their Taravads. Marriageable age is 12 to 15 for girls and 16 to 20 for boys. Proposal is from the boy's side always. Engagement is made in the presence of Inangans (middle men). Oli (bride's money) of Rs. 4-4-0 is paid. Tali is tied. The wedding is at the bride's house. The wife goes and lives in her husband's house. Vettuvans are generally monogynists, but some have two wives. The junior wife is selected by the senior or a sister of the man and respects the senior.

No polyandry. A widow may marry her brother-in-law or anyone she likes. A girl cannot wear a necklace of beads until she is married. Divorce is easy among them, on both sides. They follow makkattayam.

They are said to put a woman in labour into a hole dug in a corner of the hut and leave her alone there with some water till she is delivered of the child.

They have the rudiments of the caste assembly. Funeral ceremonies are elaborate including பிண்ட பலி (Pinda Bali). They bury their dead.

They consider themselves superior to Pulayans, Nayadi, Ulladans and others. They will eat from Brahmin, Sudra Kammalan etc. They are an easy prey to proselytising Christians and Muslims.

Paniyans are the most numerous of the jungle tribes of Malabar. In the 1931 census report, their number is 16,500 plus 15,850–32,350 They were probably driven up from below by later settlers in the valleys and plains. In Wynaad which is sparsely populated there are clear traces of an early rude civilization. Mappillas are not numerous here. The few Jains of Malabar live here. Animistic beliefs and devil worship are rampant. Temples are often mere platforms under lofty trees where bloody sacrifices and weird rites are performed. Paddy and Ragi are the cultivated crops. Iron ore exists. Pepper, cardamom and plantains grow. European capital and enterprise have brought in Tea, coffee and rubber.

This is the Paniyan's chief habitat. He is one of the "submerged" ones. He is almost negroid with black skin, curly hair and broad nose.

The Paniyans cultivate hill rice in Punam patches and are employed in wood cutting and elephant catching. They are good shikaries.

They wear a hat made of split reeds called 'Kontai'. Their hut is called a 'chala' சாலை and a group of chalas is a 'Padi'.

Their headman is called 'Kuttan'. The collective name for headmen or elders is Muppanmar.

Kuli is their chief deity and the raised platform on which cocoanuts are offered to her is the Kulittara - குளித்தறை. The Kuttan is the priest and is assisted by a Komaram (Oracle).

They are also found in hill bottoms of Ernad, Calicut, Kurumbranad and Kottayam taluks and the Mudanad, Cherangod and Nambalakod amsoms of Nilgiris.

One theory calls them Africans who were ship - wrecked. They say they were brought from a distant country, where too, they had been in a miserable condition, having only one cloth between man and wife and had been so timid that Raja had to catch them with nets. Every Paniyan is a landlord's man – a slave. He is only theoretically free to leave his master.

The planters purchased the lands with the Paniyans on it. They were employed by rich receivers as coffee thieves.

The domesticated Paniyan is honest if well paid. On estates they cultivate Ragi and rice for consumption only. Women and children dig up roots or gather herbs for food.

They eat land crabs to prevent baldness and grey hair. They are fond of alcohol.

Practically all the rice of Wynaad is grown by Paniyans attached to the 'Idams' (houses) or Devasvams of Nayar landlords. Chettis and Mappillas occasionally hire them from the Jenmi.

Wynaad Paniyans were engaged in the past for robberies, (i. e., hired).

They settle down happily in estates – live in settlements consisting of rows of huts or detached huts built of bamboo and

thatch - some double storied. During hot weather they move down to the stream and return with the South West monsoon.

They catch fish by poisoning the water as Malasars do. The Paniyan language is a Malayalam patois spoken in a sing - song way, but most Paniyans on the estates now speak Kannada also.

Paniyans are credited with the power of changing themselves into animals - bull or dog. They are said to lure women out by magic.*

Monogamy is the rule. Widows may remarry. There is a 'kuttan' for every considerable village appointed by the Nayar Janmi. Next in rank to him is the Mudali. There is also a Chamuri or Shamuri who is a priest.

Corpses are buried, laid north - south on the left side.

Paniyans were 3000 in number in Nilgiris scattered throughout Gudalur Taluk in 1937, mostly as farm labourers under Chetty ryots.

Malakkaran - In 1941, 69 males + 48 females = 117. They are also called Malamuttanmar and Malapanikkar.

They are a superior type of Jungle cultivators and hunters found in the Calicut and Ernad hills. Their houses are called Illams. They consider themselves polluted by all castes below Nayars. When they come down to the plains, they bathe before they enter their houses again.

Their chief God is Mahadevan.

They are good Forest watchers and elephant catchers.

Malayan of Kottayam is similar but is equal to a Tiya.

Principal occupation of the caste is exorcising devils. They also beg during the harvest season in various disguises. They sing songs and beg alms.

The exorcism practised by the Malayans is similar to what Nalkes and Paravas in S. Kanara practise.

Kadan:

The Kadan of North Malabar is to be distinguished from the Kadar of Anamalais. They seem to be similar to, if not the same

as Malayans. They claim to have been originally Tiyans punished and transported by a Raja of Kottayam. They live in the Gannavaram Amsom.

Karimpalam:

A north Malabar tribe found in all the foot hills of the camel's hump.

Their census figures show a decline in theiI population since 1891.

1891 – 3713
1901 – 3586
1911 – 2898
1921 – 3163

1931

Chirakkal Tq.	879	plus	688	—	1567
Calicut	297	„	281	—	578
Kurumbranad	256	„	267	—	523
Kottayam	66	„	64	—	130
	1498	plus	1300	—	2798

In 1941 – 2314 plus 1928 – 4242

They do Punam cultivation. They work in the forests as axe-men and also collect wild pepper.

They follow Marumakkattayam, but have no Talikattu.

They are supposed to be capable of exorcising Karuvilli, a demon who possess in the form of fever.

Adiyans are a tribe found in Vemom, Tirunelli, Palapalli and Kuppattode amsoms in the Wynaad taluq. They are called Eravas in Kannada. They are agricultural labourers and are chiefly around Tirunelli where they are servants of the famous temple there.

Kattu Nayakans:

Their chief habitat is the Wynaad region. They numbered at the 1941 census 772 Males plus 748 Females = 1520. They are confused with Jen Krumbas and Shola Nayakas and it is likely all these tribes have some forgotten relationship with the Sholagar.

Kurichan:

They are found in large numbers in Wynaad and in parts of Kurumbranad, Kottayam and Calicut Taluks. The Kurichan figures in the census reports as below :-

1881	—	4080	plus	3807	—	7887
1891	—	5075	,,	4801	—	9876
1901	—	4940	,,	4702	—	9642
1911	—	4917	,,	4592	—	9722
1921	—	3912	,,	3553	—	7465

1931 —	Wynaad	—	2486	plus	2468	—	4954
			88	,,	860	—	1740
	Kurumbranad		219	,,	199	—	418
			3585		3527		7112

1941 – 6224 plus 5907 – 12,124

The Kurichan is an aristocratic hunting caste. The tribe's name is derivable from Kuru, Kuru-nilam or Kuriniji. They are excellent bowmen and played a great part in the Pazhassi (Pyche) Raja'. rebellion. They wear their tufts of hair in the old Kerala fashions They call their God, Kuttappan – They are a high caste. When they leave their home they will not touch food elsewhere and will break their fast only on return home and after a bath. Other jungle tribes will pollute them by mere approach and Tiyans and Kammalans by touch. When a stranger, even a Brahmin, enters their house, they are said to cleanse the place and do some purification ceremony. They are very orthodox. When the local Tahsildar and I, both Brahmins, asked if we could see the inside of their house, they politely said that they had no objection but it meant some trouble for them having to purify etc. It is likely the compliment is returned by the castes of the plains, for the plainsmen of Malabar aver that the Kurichan is really low in the socal scale. They seem to have followed Makkattayam at one time. They have the talikattu and follow Marumakkattayam now, but the wife lives with the husband in a new hut and the husband pays 'oli'. They act as oracles at the Kottiyur festival. They indulge in Punam cultivation. Fawcett

says "they are remarkably innocent, truthful and trustworthy. The Mappilas exploit them. They Cultivate rice and all of it is taken away by the Mappilla as interest. In recent times, they seem to have developed mendacity enough to ward off such vempires. They build houses with bamboo and mud with thatched roof and a verandah. A family quarters consists of two or three huts, a family temple, and a bath all very artistically situated in well chosen ground. The whole ground including the trees and plants presents an immaculate appearance reminding one of the poet's description ot a Rishi Asrama. The house I saw, was in the Panamaram area and I was informed that the family were well-to-do. The women and girls of the family we saw working in the paddyfiefd, but on our arrival they hurried back home and looked sprightly and clean for all the field work they were doing.

The Kurichan used to hunt a good deal and had dogs trained for it. They would surround a hill and a party with the dogs would enter the lairs. The spoil was divided. Their bows and arrows are beautifully made and they are excellent marksmen. They shoot fish with an arrow from their bow. A string wound round the shaft of the arrow floats on the water and marks the place where the killed fish is and facilitates its being pulled up.

A net work of roads was laid in Kottayam taluk during the Pyche rebellion. The rebels held the ghat road from Tellicherry to Coorg via Peramballighat. The chief hill tribe here is the Kurichan. They are peculiarly numerous in the Kannoth reserve. The Kottiyur temple is in this area. The Kurichans revived this ancient buried temple. The legend is that a Kurichan was sharpening his tool on a stone and found blood coming out of the stone. He informed a Nambudiri who discovered the hidden lingam. Brass vessels unearthed then are still in use at the temple and are said to retain their original polish wonderfully well.

Kurichans address Brahmins as Tambrakkal and Nayars as Tamburan. They are addressed by Paniyans and Adiyans as Achan and Pattan, by Jen Kurumbas as Muttappans and by Pualyans as Perumannan.

In addition to Muttappan, Kurichans worship Karimbil Bhagavati, Mala Kurati and Attirallan. No animal sacrifices are done. Each family celebrates an annual ceremony called 'Kollu Kodukal' for which the Pittan, the head of the family, fixes the auspicious day. The temple is cleaned and decorated and some one gets possessed and makes oracular utterances.

Tribal affairs are settled by the Pittans. The final appellate authority was in olden times the Kottayath Raja who used to authorise certain Nayars to hear appeals in his behalf.

The Pittans arrange marriages.

Some Kurrichans have been converted to Christianity.

Male Kuḍiyas. — South Kanara.

A mild and meek people, short in stature, generally fair in complexion and with a characteristic way of tying their Dhoties and Saries, the Male Kudiyas appear to be a cheerful and contented people. Their contentment does not, however, signify that they are now having their share of the wealth that grows in their country. They are only coolies and the only coolies that can manage the Cardamom estates. Two kindly souls have evinced a paternal interest in them. The cheerfulness of the Male Kudiya almost belies his poor and ignorant state.

They are a Tulu speaking people, and, with the Bant and some others, the real sons of the soil. They are the "Kurunilam" folk of Tuluva. Many Kudiyas have left the hills and are found in Puttur and Manglore taluks. Some Kudiyas near Mangalore who are said to be Jains returned themselves in one census as Savaras but this was only a whimsical stunt. They worship Hindu Gods and all the usual local deities. Chief deities are Kala Bhairava, Kamandevara and the Pandavas.

The real Male Kudiya lives on the western ghats bordering Mysore - at Dharmastala, Shishila and Neriya. The first is a great shrine and the trustee here plays the father to the tribesmen. The hillmen are attached to the temple and cultivate the temple lands.

An "Umbali" which is equal to six Kalasiges which make $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land is assigned to each Kudiya free of rent. If more lands are cultivated for every 4 Kalasiges rent is charged at 4 to 5 Murras of rice. A murra is 42 seers. This works out to 250 seers per acre. Seed is supplied. The first crop yields 4 to 5 murras and the second 2 murras. The 'Umbali' is similar to a "service inam". The service consists of lighting the temple, erection of pandals, pulling the car, decorations etc. They have to bring the bamboo from the forests belonging to the temple. For one member per family, the temple provides two meals every day. Every one owns cattle–plough bulls as well as milch cows. They do not keep sheep or goats. They have he-buffaloes for ploughing. The buffalo is costly and costlier than the cow. Crops get destroyed frequently by wild beasts, boars and bisons.

The Kudiya's diet consists of rice in the night and 'Kanji' in the morning. The side dish is mostly mere salt and chillies. Dhal is taken rarely.

They rear pig. They do not take beef, but are fond of the black monkey's flesh and also that of the red squirrel. They are fond of drink.

Shishila is a valley further east on the Mysore borders. The Kudiyas of this valley and Dharmastala are very much like plainsmen to-day, except that they have their caste rules and caste organisation. At Shishila, too, the Kudiyas do not own the lands. There are no Umbali lands here. They cultivate lands on lease.

At Neriya, the true hill type of Kudiyas live. Four hills bordering Mysore form the homelands of these Kudiyas. Cardamom estates afford the occupation. There are about 60 to 80 houses on these hills containing some 250 members. They were doing some Kumri cultivation but even this has been given up owing to the menace of elephant, bison and wild bear. There are three estates here now and the fatherly Hebbar owns one of these. Originally, the Hebbars owned all these, but partition between brothers resulted in sales to others. The wages paid to the Male Kudiyas are rations plus 4 or 5 annas per day. They get oil and oth commodities

also – all as much as they want. Clothing is supplied in May every year. In short, it works like a happy commune headed by the Hebbar family. Hebbar pays also the tree tax on the toddy trees reserved in Survey No. 146 for use of Male Kudiyas.

Of the other two estates, Kadalkar follows the Hebbar method. But with the Travancore Co., it is different. Rations are not given for children for the reason that they do not work.

The men wear the Dhoti in a peculiar way. They bring the cloth from under the left arm over the chest and the back to the right shoulder where they knot the two parts of the cloth a span away from the two ends. The flaps beyond the knot are tied around the right side of the body and a cane belt keeps the cloth in place. A knife is stuck into the belt. The women wear the usual Sadi but bring the end up to a knot on the shoulder like how the men do.

The Male Kudiyas are all illiterate. They have no bows and arrows and do not hunt. They keep fowls. They do not rear pigs for fear of tigers. They eat pork but not beef. They worship Kala Bhairava – a form of Siva.

The Kudiyas follow the Aliya Santana rule of succession generally. Some in Shishila on Mysore borders, follow the Makkala Santana rule.

The Kudiyas on the ghats do not come down except once a week when they fetch the Cardamom crop during the season. They live for the most part in the jungles–beneath rocks in caves or in low huts.

Widows may remarry and a widow can marry her deceased husband's brother. Polygyny is allowed. Divorce is easy. The really strange feature of their family life is that they do not object to a widow marrying her eldest son This doos not appear to be a custom but two cases are reported from Neriya. In one case there was no issue but in the other the motherwife bore a son to her own son.

The Gurikara, the priest and head of the caste, is elected by the village–usually the village elders only. He settles disputes–divorce etc. The Gurikara chooses his own Council over which he

presides. Fine is the usual sentence inflicted; and it is paid in the name of the deity and feasting is done on fowl curry and toddy.

When a deity is worshipped the Paravas–a Harijan Class–are engaged for a dance. The Paravas are given a loan of the deity's jewels to be worn by them during the dance. They are also paid in cash. The usual occasion for festival is Visakha.

Kudubi.

This tribe is said to have migrated from Maharastra some two centuries ago.

In the 1931 census their population is shown as follows:

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Kundapur Taluk.	1470	1468	2938
Udipi ,,	1683	1655	3338
Karkal ,,	891	923	1814
Mangalore ,,	1903	1997	3900
Grand Total.	5975	6036	12,011

In 1941 their total was 6,064 males 5,821 females = total 11,885. The "Kadu Konkani" of the early census tables is probably the Kudubi. The Kudubis call themselves Kaluvadis also. Another tribe in an equally depressed condition called Maharatti is often confused with the Kudubis. In fact something common between the two tribes can be suspected from the very fact that two sects of Kudubis speak Maharatti. These are the 'Are' and the 'Jogi' septs, It is likely that these two are not Kudubis and are Maharattis only. The confusion appears to have come about owing to the general mistakes made about the Konkani language. It is wrongly classed as a dialect of Maharatti by many. The Konkani really belongs to the Ardha Magadhi group of Prakrits and those who speak it are also counted among the 'Pancha Gaudas' and not the 'Pancha Dravidas'. The three other sects Goa, Kodiyal and Karia speak Konkani. It is noteworthy that the Konkani they speak is like Konkani spoken by the Roman Catholic Brahmin of South Kanara and unlike the Hindu Brahmin's Konkani. The Catholics are known

to have come from Goa, being converted by the Portuguese there. The Goa Kudubis claim to have emigrated to South Kanara owing to oppression and to have brought with them the sweet-potato, the Cashew nut, the Chrysanthemum and the Indian Spinach. This latter claim is interesting and may signify that they followed in the wake of the Catholic Brahmins perhaps as their servants. The Catholic dialect is attributable to this. The Brahamins, however, would not admit them to Christian equality and brotherhood being "Catholics" and they drifted away in their own clans, vargas or sects and Kutumbas or families. The clans are endogamous and are the five named above. The Vargas are the exogamious scepts within the clan. The Kutumba sense with this tribe is remarkable. It is a family commune. The family never divides and lives in one house which is built all around a quadrangle each husband and wife having separate apartments with separate bathing places with Kitchen, gardens attached. In dividuality shows itself here. A family in the Kundapuram taluk has as many as 150 members. Another at Bajpe which is an average "Kutumba" has 30 families (husband and wife with their children). Each couple occupies one of the rooms round the quardrangle which is open to the sky having the rooms well ventilated. The quardrangle is big enough for drying or airing grains and other commodities, for assembling of the family and for dance. The cultivated fields are all around this great family house. It is only dry cultivation and the Kudubis work hard in their fields. They call their dry cultivation 'Kumri' which is the name applied to shifting cultivation elsewhere. These Kudubis have given up shifting cultivation and have settled down.

The main occupation of the Kudubis was 'Kumri' cultivation. Some were employed in the manufacture of "Cutch" from the acacia catechu. This tree is confined to Coondapur taluk as a rule. This was in the past a Kudubi monopoly. The Kudubi would begin his operation - felling the tree etc. with Puja to Siddhe-devaru. It is perhaps the monopolist trade in Cutch that took some Kudubis to Travancore where they exist under the name of Kudumi and speak Konkani,

It will be interesting to note that 'Kudumi' is also the caste name of the medicine-men belonging to the Irula and Jogi castes of

the eastern districts. These Kudumis were once famous for their knowledge of curative herbs and roots, for blood letting as a treatment and for curing the effects of poisonous bites.

The Karia Kudubi represents the real Kudubi as different from the Mahratti. He is short in stature and small though well made. His features conform to the so called Dravidian type. This need not conflict with the Gauda heritage of the Kudubi seen in his language Konkani for the Gaudas and Dravidas were after all cousins and of the same race. The Gauda too has generally escaped the white admixture of the northwest.

The Kudubis eat flesh–but only of animals that they catch. They snare rabbits, porcupine and bear and will not part with their flesh for any price. They are very fond of fish and are experts in fishing. They will not touch beef and avoid even fowls and whatever has been domesticated. They are prohibitionists and avoid alcohol. They are fond of the hunt in which they use nets and spears. They have no dogs for the hunt. They are generally poorly clothed. They lead a primitive life with thrifty habits.

Their favourite entertainment is the "Kolattam" by the men folk. They have a pretty looking drum which is earthen ware with raw hide stretched on to the opening on one side. A Kudubi colony is called a Padavu. There are two schools being run exclusively for Kudubi children at Kannorie and Paduperar. They are taught in Kannada, the regional language. This does not present any difficulty, for, in this district the teacher generally knows Konkani and the children too know Kannada. This is a trilangual district where the consmopolitanism characteristic of the Karnataka prevails. Every one speaks all the languages–Tulu, Kannada and Konkani.

MAHRATTIS.

It is rather a difficult name to apply to a tribe considered in this report. Mahratti is of Mahrastra and signifies the great people of the Bombay Presidency who ruled India before the British took it. This tribe has been given the name from the fact that they speak a low type of Mahratti. They are taken for a low class who had

migrated from Southern Mahrastra or Goa. It may be that they and the Kudubis came down during some troubleous periods - some Portuguese persecution or Muslim invasion. They are divided into 12 vargas or " balis " which are exogamous divisions. They respect the Sringeri Mutt and are Hindus and follow Hindu ways. They employ Brahmin priests. They are not untouchables. They eat fish and flesh but not beef and such other flesh as is usually prohibited among Hindus. They are addicted to drink. They allow widow remarriage but the widow cannot marry into the family of her deceased husband. In some places widow remarriage is prohibited. Divorce is allowed and easy.

Their chief occupation was 'Kumri' cultivation and after its being banned they are chiefly farm labourers. They are illiterate as a class. Though technically they are touchables they are so poor and miserable that their social status is no better than that of the usual depressed classes. They are found largely in the Puttur Taluk and also in the interiors of the Kundapur and Mangalore taluks.

The forest department has permitted some Kumri cultivation in the villages of Muliyur, Karadka, Adoor, Mandokola etc., with a view to encourage settlements within the Reserve forests which may be useful for the departmental purposes also.

The Mahrattis - though not included in the list of scheduled classes and primitive tribes are still a hill tribe to-day and in a very primitive state. They stick to the hills and even in the plains are very poor.

They numbered 34,053 in the census of 1931. They are seen throughout the western ghats but are in large numbers in Adoor and Panathadi of the Kasaragode Taluq, Aletti of the Puttur taluk and Hirga of the Udipi Taluk.

They are known to work hard and make good domestic servants and farm labourers.

Several representations were made to Government to include this community among the scheduled classes or primitive tribes

to as to make them eligible for the special facilities afforded by the Labour Department. Unfortunately their name and their being high up in the caste hierarchy has led to a denial of their request.

Koraga :

This tribe is classed among the depressed classes but not as a hill tribe or a primitive tribe. There is however no other tribe which is in a more primitive state than the Koraga. The state of the tribe also illustrates the fate of communities which go under in a political upheaval. It will surprise any one who sees the Koraga of to–day to know that he was once of the ruling class.

They are quiet and inoffensive and have specialised the bearing of insults and ill-treatment as a tribal badge. They live on the outskirts of villages. They cannot live in mud huts and may live only in huts of leaves called Koppus. Their chief occupation is basket making and they are agrestic slaves brought and sold with the land till recent times. A section of them called Ande Koragas had to sling a pot round their neck for them to spit into since they were too low to be allowed to spit on the high way. A Koraga cannot use the highways after dark. Their women were compelled to dress themselves in leaves. The Koraga's truthfulness is proverbial. It is said that though they are in this degraded position they do not appear to be unhappy.

A certain Habashika invaded Tuluva and conquered it from Mayura Sarma king of Vanavasi. This Mayura Sarma is evidently the scholar of Kanchi who founded the Kadamba empire. Habashika was treacherously murdered after a reign of twelve years. The Kadambas now attacked Habashikas' followers, overthrew them and subjected them to slavery. The Koragas appear to have accepted the slaves' position on condition that they are fed day after day without having to bother about the next day's meal.

The name Koraga may be a corruption of Kuruvar or hillmen. But the first part of the name has a new significance in this case. Kora is a name applied to sects among some northern tribes–the Gadaba, Muka Dora and Rona. It is said to mean the 'Sun'. The

Koragas are Sun worshippers and name their children in the hill tribe fashion of the north after days of the week. Thus Aita (Aditya) is the name of one born on Sunday. Toma is the name for Monday. The interchangeability of Ta and Sa in Tamil is a wellknown fact. Toma is therefore Soma which means the Moon. Angara for Tuesday after Angaraka or Mars, Gurva for Thursday after Guru or Jupiter, Tanya for Sani or Saturn and Tukra for the day of Sukṛa–Friday. It is noteworthy that the names of the planets, Sun, Moon, Mars, etc. are the Sanskrit names and not the Tamil ones. They have no temples but consecrate a spot beneath a 'Nux Vomica' tree and worship a deity called Kata. Kata is near the Tamil word Katavul கடவுள் or God. Sunday is the auspicious day for them.

There is enough in the above for an interesting speculation about a possible connection of the Koraga with the tribes in Kalinga. The Koragas have another interesting custom which recalls the Koya to memory. When a woman is found guilty of adultery, she has to pass through seven huts set on fire before she is purified and becomes fit for readmission into the caste. Apart from the similarity to the Koya, the real significant feature of this ceremony is that this ritual demonstrates Manu's law that seven generations are necessary to correct a lapse from the prescribed rules of endogamous marriage. Yet, Manu was the so called Aryan and Hindu and these tribesmen, the submerged race.

The Koragas have taken to other deities chiefly Mariamma. They follow the modern festivals of Gokulastami and Vinayaka Chathurthi.

THE TRIBES OF THE NILGIRIS.

The isolation of the Nilgiris is well known. These six or seven hundred square miles with a central altitude of 8760 feet arise almost abruptly from the plains of Coimbatore. On the North and East they slope down through lesser ranges towards the "Kaveri" chain of hills; on the West to the Kerala uplands through Wynaad which is part of the Nilgiris though included now in the Malabar district. The area was first explored by Englishmen only in 1819.

Until then this fovoured region was in the possession of the Toda the Badaga, the Kota, the Irula and the Kurumba.

The Badagas are the largest in number and are the agriculturists. Their name வடக்கன் (Vadakkan) indicates they have migrated to these summits from the Kannada Country in the North. They are Saivas and speak a dialect of Kannada. They also worship Rangaswami and some minor deities in the ordinary Hindu way. At Hoolikkal they have a temple to Hetti commemorating the Sati by the widow of a Vadakka of wealth. The relic of Sati is now seen in the present Vadakka funeral when the widow's robe is thrown on the funeral pyre.

These colonists, being industrious have increased in wealth. Their life however is intimately connected with the life of the Toda, Kota, Kurumba and Irula.

The Todas claim that they were the first on the soil and that the Badagas came and occupied these lands with their permission. The 'gudu' grain which the Badagas give the Todas is often called a 'tribute' in rocognition of such vassaldom. But the Toda begs it and pays respects to the Badaga as will be shown, which he will not do, were he the overlord. The Badaga makes gifts of grain to the Kurumban too which is ascribed to a fear of the Kurumban's necromatic powers. Necromancy is suggested in the case of the Toda too. The Badaga pays the Kota in grain and coin for his services.

As it existed prior to European occupation, these tribes together furnished the ordinary elements that make up Hindu society. The Badaga was the tiller, the Toda the dairy man, the Kota was the artisan, the Kurumba and Irula, the gatherers of forest produce. They appear to have come to the hills at different times and whatever their previous occupation might have been, settled down to the above ones with unparallelled resignation and contentment. The "bow and arrow" tradition described under "Todas show that their present pastoral life is one adopted by them under some dispensation. Their very polyandry may signify their anxiety to keep the

class and its functions pure and on ordained lines. The Dolmens and Cairns found all over the Nilgiris may indicate a previous state of the Todas themselves or a more widespread Kurumba occupation. The unpopularity of the Kurumba with the other tribes, the fear of his necromantic powers, which has often led to murders of the miserable Kurumba by Badaga, Kota and Irula led by the Toda, may indicate the subjugation of the once powerful Kurumba and the animosity which has driven him to the interiors of the hills. An annual tax of four annas used to be paid to the Kurumba by the others. It seems as though there had been an early conflict before these tribes settled down to ordained functions. Whether the one who ordained thus was *En* the Toda ancestor, his son *Dir Kish* or his son the herd-god *Betakan* or whether it was Hiria Deva, the bell-cow god at Melur or whether it was a more tangible Ganga King of Talakad is lost in the usual mists of Indian History.

In dealing with the Nilgiris we must include also the Sholaga and Urali for the resemblance they bear to the Jen Kurumba and the Irula respectively. I shall mention also, the Kolayan of Kasaragode and North Malabar, the God Palarayan and Billayya, all reminiscent at once of the Kurumborai or the Pallavas mentioned in Part I and the Villiyans who even to-day are a section of Irulas of the east coast.

KOTAS.

According to Dr. Oppert "it seems probable that the Kotas and Todas lived near each other before the settlement of the latter on the Nilgiris. Their dialects betray a great resemblance". According to a tradition of theirs (Kotas) they lived formerly on Kollimalai, a mountain in Mysore. But Kollis are in Salem. The derivation of the name Kota is from the Gauda-Dravida root 'Ko' or 'Ku'—mountain. The Kotas are said to belong to the Gaudian branch.

The population of the tribe from 1881 onwards is given below :

1881 – 500 plus 567 — 1067
1891 – 556 plus 645 — 1201

1901 - 582 plus 685 — 1267
1911 - 547 plus 616 — 1163
1921 - 563 plus 641 — 1204
1931 - 562 plus 559 — 1121 — { Coonoor Taluk - 524; Gudalur Taluk - 89; Ooty Taluk - 508 }
1941 - 485 plus 467 — 952

They inhabit seven villages: Kotagiri or Peranganad, Kilkotagiri, Kethi or Mekanad, Kundanad, Todanad, and Sholur which are all situated on the plateau; the seventh is at Gudalur in Wynaad on the northern slopes of the Nilgiris.

A village consists of 30 to 60 detached huts arranged in streets called Keris – Kil–Keri, Mel–Keri and Nadu–Keri. The Keri is an exogamous unit. The hut is of mud, brick and stone and thatch or tiles divided into living and sleeping apartments, with a veranda and pials and brings to mind the tamil house of the plains. Some huts or forges have carved stone pillars.

" The besetting vice ot the Kotas is their partiality for drink. They indulge in noisy and turbulent intoxication in an arraq shop. They are looked down upon as unclean feeders and eaters of carrion. Despite its unpleasant nature, the carrion diet evidently agrees with the Kota, who is a hard. sturdy man. He is said to flourish most exceedingly when the hill cattle are dying of an opidemic." This is an old account. They are excellent artisans. — Blacksmiths. carpenters, rope and umbrella makers and are indispensable to the other tribes. They also work on gold and silver and the jewellery made by Kotas are very pretty indeed. The odas Tbelieved that the Kotas were specially brought from the plains to work for them. Each Toda, Irula, Kurumba or Badaga settlement has its Muttu Kotas who supply them with sundry articles called 'Muttu' in return for carcasses, ghee, grain and plantains. The Kotas eat the flesh of cattle and sell the horns to Labbais from the plains. Chakkilis from the plains collect the bones and the hides, roughly cured by the Kotas themselves with chunam and "Avaram". Kota blacksmiths make hatchets, bill hooks, knives etc., for the hillmen and even for the Hindus and Europeans. Within memory of living

men, they used to smelt iron ore brought from the plains. They now depend on scrap iron.

As agriculturists, they are on a par with Badagas. Shifting cultivation or Podu is called Bhurty here. Kotas were doing this but this was stopped in 1862–64.

Kotas used to make medicines with the poppy heads cultivated by Badagas. Now they get opium from the bazaar and use it as an intoxicant.

. Kota women were timid. They used to be clad in filthy garments, tattered and torn and not reaching down to the knee even. Women work in the field, collect firewood, etc. They also make baskets and crude - earthen pots on a potter's wheel. The disc is made of dried mud with an iron spike.

Kota priests are the Devadi (or Terkaran) and the Pujari (or Muntakannan). Devadi is a hereditary office and the Pujari is appointed by the Devadi when he is under an inspiration. Devadi is an oracle and get possessed. On his death some member of the family who gets possessed in the temple succeeds. The Devadi appoints two Pujaries who perform Puja. Priests need not be celibates. They marry but avoid their wives and cook for themselves during the festival of Kamataraya. Kamataraya and Kalikai are said to be Kota editions of Siva and Parvati. At Kolamale there are three temples two to Kamataraya and one to Kalikai.

Kotas go to the temple once a month on Full - moon day. They believe that Kamataraya created the Kota, Toda and Kurumba but not the *Irula*. The three were born from 3 drops of the God's perspiration. The Todas were told to live on milk, the Kurumbar were allowed the flesh of buffalo calves and the Kotas everything. – If they could get nothing else they could eat carrion even.

In recent years, the Kotas have created new goddesses-Magali and Mariamma (Cholera and Small - pox).

Evans, in 1820, called them Kothewars. English spelling of Indian names has created considerable chaos. This one may bring to mind Kathiawar.

Kota marriage is by the girl's consent; she can reject the man after trial on the first night and have no odium attached to her thereby. Widow nemarriage is allowed. Monogyny is the rule. A second or third wife is however taken only for the sake of a child or a son. The wives may live together or separately. Divorce is allowed for incompatibility, drunkenness or immorality or for being no use as a help-mate at home or in the field. It is granted by panchayat.

The Panchayat settles also cases of theft, assault and other minor offences. In cases not capable of being settled by the panchayat of one village, a council of delegates from all the seven villages decides. A Pittakar - Chairman - gives the decision. Pita means a seat - பீடம். The Kotas have special maternity wards called Vollugudi- a permanent structure with two apartments one. for lying in and the other, for the staying-out during menses. There are professional Kota mid-wives. After confinement a woman stays till the next 'Pournami' (Full-moon day) in the Vollugudi and then for two months in the Telulu.

The baby is fed on departure from Vollugudi with rice boiled in a specially made pot on fire of a particular jungle wood. Feasting is done on leaving the Telulu. The namc of the baby is chosen by the father but the "Christening" is done by the Kheri headman. The usual Hindu purification with cow dung before entering the house is done.

'Komuttam' is a common male name and 'Madi' for girls.

The Kotas have a custom of placing a gold coin-Viraya panam- in the mouth of the dying person at the point of death. They kill a male buffalo at the funeral. They carry what is called a Teru in front of the bier when they march to the crėmation ground. Similar paraphernalia are noticed among some castes of the plains. A cow is also killed during the funeral ceremonies.

The Kamataraya festival commencing on the first Monday after the January new moon lasts for a fortnight. It is a continuous scene of licentiousness and debauchery. Chief Badagas must attend as etiquette.

The Kota band consists of clarionet, drum, tambourine, brass horn and the *buguri* which is the "Toda flute".

Kotas have their indoor and outdoor games - very much like the ones in vogue in the plains.

When a Toda is met, the Kota kneels and raises the Toda's feet to his head. The Kurumbar also respects the Toda but he only bends forward and the Toda places his hand on the Kurumbar's head. Irula also does similarly.

The Kota supplies axes, mamuties, knives, etc and also the band to the Toda free but he is entitled to the carcasses, horn and hides of animals belonging to Todas.

TODAS.

The Toda is the aristocrat of the Blue Mountains. He has been the subject of much speculation. It is not certain when this tribe first appeared on the Nilgiris. European writers have always been enthusiastic about them and even suggested a celtic origin or association for the Toda.

The Census figures of this small pastoral community are as below:

1881 - 393 plus 296 — 689
1891 - 427 plus 312 — 739
1901 - 453 plus 354 — 807
1911 - 426 plus 322 — 748
1921 - 360 plus 280 — 640
1931 - 340 plus 257 — 597
1941 - 342 plus 288 — 630

The preponderance of males over females was in earlier days attributed to female infanticide. But, it continues even now.

The typical Toda is above medium height, well proportioned and stalwart, with straight nose, regular features and perfect teeth. The "Put-Kuli" is his only garment and is of thick cotton cloth with red and blue stripes. It is thrown around the body

by men and women somewhat like a Roman Toga. The Toda looked stately enough to the first Englishman to be reminiscent of the ancient Roman. A closer examination showed the differenee between the Put-Kuli and the Toga and the Todas had other than Roman features. The Druids of Britain came to mind then and these long lost kinsmen and kinswomen became more than mere academic diversions for many a Britisher. The result has been disastrous to the Toda as is stated in the following sentences by Dr. Shortt in 1868 " Most of their women have been debauched by Europeans who, it is sad to observe have introduced diseases to which these innocent tribes were at one time perfect strangers and which as they have no means of curing, are slowly but no less surely sapping their once hardy and vigorous constitutions. The effects of intemperance and Syphilis are becoming more and more apparent in the shaken and decrepit appearance which at the present day these tribes generally present ".

Dr. Oppert ascribed a Turanian or Scythian origin to the Todas and said they belong to the Gaudian branch of the Gauda group. I haye said enough in Part I to justify our dismissing this as a fanciful conjecture.

It has been said that the name Toda is a corruption of Koda. Kodavar – mountaineers – seems a fit name for the inhabitants of the Nilagiris. but, the Toda scoffs at that name. There is a division of the Nilgiris called Kodanad but this is situated in the eastern parts of the district where it may more justifiably be associated with the Kotas. Again, although living in a mountainous district, the Todas are a pastoral community and have nothing of a mountaineer in them.

The Tud tree (Meliosma simplicifolia) is the sacred tree of this tribe and important for almost everything. The Toda calls himself actually துத (Tuda) and the Tamils call him Tudavar. In fact, Tuda is the name applied to women. Men are called by a name which sounds like the Tamil ஆண் which means a man.

The Todas claim they were the first on thc Nilgiri soil.

"Clothed and without arms, they live a simple pastoral life". This is how they have been described. They are really so now. The dairy is their temple. The Palal, the dairyman and a large–horned race of semi-domesticated buffaloes are the most sacred things to a Toda. Butter and ghee is what they depend on. They are strictly vegetarian. But, a certain ritual performed in the seventh month of pregnancy indicates an earlier stage when the tribe must have carried arms. In this ritual, the husband leads the wife to a forest, makes a bow and an arrow with a twig and grass. The wife places a lamp at the foot of some tree and kneeling before it receives the bow and arrow from the husband saluting it by lowering her head. Receiving it, she asks " what is the name of your bow ? " The husband mentions the name which is the name of his clan. Question and answer are repeated three times. The wife then deposits the bow and arrow at the foot of the tree. The pair remains all night under the tree and eat the evening meal and the next morning's meal there before returning home. Weapons are exhibited at weddings and funerals also.

The language of the Todas is definitely connected with Tamil rather than with Kannada. Advocates of Turanian descent have attempted to trace a home in the Kannada country for the Todas prior to their advent on the Nilgiris. The reason for considering the Toda as non–indigenous to these hills appears to be the discovery of certain cairns and dolmens which the modern Toda does not own. It is surmised that another race now extinct had been on the hills before the Todas came. But it has been noticed that the Toda funeral ceremonies are very similar to what this extinct race might have practised as seen from the relics in the cairns and dolmens. It seems more likely that there was a thorough change in the Toda at some stage in history when he gave up arms, agriculture and other occupations and contented himself with his buffaloes and his Tirieri or dairy temple. The Boath or Boa often called the Toda Cathedral is again a subject for speculation. Some writers have thought that the Boaths were built by the extinct race. Through centuries of pastoral life the Toda has forgetten his own history. The English 'Boa', again, appears to be wrong. The Toda uses a P instead of B.

The Toda village is called a 'mand' – The name itself means a herd or a cattlepen. (மந்தை).

It is usually a collection of three huts, each, 18' × 9' × 10' high with a small door way measuring only 32 inches by 18 inches. Entrance may be effected only in all fours. Besides the 3 huts the Mand has another hut slightly larger but with a smaller doorway which is the Tirieri or dairy temple – 'Lactarium' as some writers call it. In the vicinity of the Mand is the cattle pen called Tuel which is a circular enclosure within a loose stone wall. The large herd of buffaloes of the mand are penned here fore the night. Tue[1] is again English spelling of a word which may be தொழுவம் the Tamil word for Cattle–yard.

The Tirieri is the sum and substance of Toda life. It is also called Palchi. It is managed by the Palals. A Toda, before he becomes a Palal must obtain the sanction of the Toda Panchayat, Even when he resigns, the panchayat should permit him. A Palal has to observe Brahmacharva. If a married man, he keeps away from his wife who is looked after by his brother. In the initiation ceremony of a Palal the juice of the Tud tree plays an important part. The juice is drunk during the vigil of 2 or 3 days in a forest which the candidate should perform before assuming office and the juice is also poured on the black cloth–the distinguishing garb of the Palal. There is a maximum period of 10 or 12 years for which a Palal may serve as such.

The Palal is assisted by Kaltamaks–boys between eight and ten. They are also initiated with a vigil in the forest and the Tud juice, for a day. Inside the Tirieri the Kaltamak must go naked exeept in his own apartment. The 'Mak' in this name is the Toda form of the tamil Makkal–மக்கள்.

The Tirieri consists of a dwelling hut for the Palals (there may be more than one), a separate hut for Kaltamaks, a large and a small cattle pen, and a dairy portion which is the temple where the sacred bell and dairy appliances are kept. No one but Palals and Kaltamaks may go into a Tirierl. There is a Bell–cow in every herd which carries the sacred bell during the periodical migration to

other pastures. It is very sacred. The office ot the bell–cow is hereditary. The calf succeeds the mother in the event of her death. If the Bell–Cow dies issueless, adoption is done from another Tirieri. The herd itself is an object of worship.

Apart from the Tirieris, at the Kandal and Tarnat Mands, there are dairy temples called by other names. At Kandal there are two called Kurpuli and Orzhallii. At Tarnat, there are three called Kokveli, Tarveli and Orzhalli, The priests at these temples are called Karpal or Guardian and indicated with the name of the temple as Kurpuli Karpal or Tarveli Karpal. The priest of Orzhalli is called Vorhal.

In addition to these Tirieris and Palchis there is the Boath or Boa. There are four of this at each of the following places - Muttanad Mand, Kotagiri, Sholur and Mudimand. This has been compared to the bothan or bee - hive houses in Scotland and similar buildings in the Sinai penninsula at Suez.

It is a circular stone edifice 25 to 30 feet high with a thatched roof. It is also used as a dairy temple but the priest is called a Vorzhal.

The Todas cremate their dead and dispose of the ashes in a manner suggestive of some past connection with the cairns above mentioned.

During a Toda cremation of a man, a bow and arrow obtained from the Kota, a walking stick, rice. jaggery. honey, cocoanut, plantains, tobacco and a bamboo Khandi (measure) and some cowries (representing money) are also cremated. Bags of rupees are also placed nowadays but removed before the byre is lit. In the case of a woman, cooking utensils. jewellery, cooked food. thread and cowries are burnt along with the corpse. The remains of gold and silver are recovered from the ashes.

They call God by the Tamil name கடவுள் (Kadavul). They also venerate the rising sun and the moon. They conceive of a heaven which they call Amnad. (ஆம் நாட்) They generally point to above the Makurti peak to show the heavens. They have a Vytarini in their mythology which can be crossed only by a thread.

The first Toda was called En. He had a son Dirkish whose son was Betakan. The Todas worship Betakan in his Koil at Nambalakod in Wynaad. Hiria Deva, the bell-cow-god has a temple at Melur. Apart from these local gods, the Todas also make pilgrimage to Nanjangud and Karamadai, two famous Hindu shrines.

Once in four or five years or even annually a buffalo sacrifice is made when a calf is killed by the Vorzhal or Pali Karpal with a Tud stick. This rite is called Kona Sastra which means eastern Sastra perhaps, an imitation of the "Ur Devaras" in the eastern plains.

The Todas are divided into five clans, Kenna, Kuttan, Peiki, Pekken and Todi Inter-marriage between some of them is strictly forbidden. The Palals and Kaltamaks come from the Peiki clan who seem to be superior to others. The Peikis are called Tertals தேர்த்தாள் or தேர்ந்த ஆள் (superior) and the rest are called Tartal தாழ்ந்த ஆள் (inferior.)

The ordinary Toda shows respect to a Palal by adjusting the Put-Kuli so as to leave the arms bare and removing any head gear.

A Toda pays homage to a Badaga by bending forward when he meets him when the Badaga places his hand on the Toda's head. All the same, the Toda claims to have been the first on the soil and the Badaga, for this reason is said to pay a tribute of grain to the Toda called 'Gudu'. Some say that the Badaga does this to humour the Todas whose necromantic powers he fears.

The Todas have similar fears of the Kurumbas though the Kurumba makes the same obeisance to him as the Toda does to a Badaga. As for a Kota, he kneels before a Toda and raises the Toda's feet to his head. An Irula has the same status as the Kurumba with reference to the Toda.

The one remarkable fact about this tribe is the consistent small number of females resulting in a diminishing population. In early days this was attributed to female infanticide. Polyandry prevails and is perhaps the tribe's device for overcoming the shortage of women as well as for preserving the tribal unity. The mand is like a joint family in which cattle and women are the property that is

jointly owned. Marriage as an institution still prevails but it is the union with the first husband that is celebrated. His brothers automatically gain a share and even others may purchase an interest. The curious custom is mentioned of a girl after puberty being tested for her fitness to enter married state by some strong man of the community who after the trial may or may not marry her. The corporate sense of the tribe seems to prevail over individual acquisitiveness even in matters sexual.

The Toda skull is said to be dolichocephalic which is said to be characteristic of a simple pastoral people with temperate habits. But the Toda of to-day exhibits a fondness for drink that questions the phrenologist's belief that the need for stimulants is a quality of the branchyoephalic head.

Like in the Koya and others already seen, mendacity in the Toda is frequently noticed. Nearabout Ootacamund, he is a degraded, specimen always asking for alms. The early European sight-seers were evidently amused over inviting the Todas to come and ask "Inam Kudu", but the amusement has cost the community its self-respect.

Todas are educated in schools. They are taught the three Rs in the usual way and the schooling has done them no good.

Pasture is all that the Toda wants. The European planters were able to get the lands alienated easily from the ignorant Toda. Government on seeing this, first compensated the Todas with a payment of Rs. 150/- per annum, which evidently they had to beg at the Taluk offices. Ultimately, each Mand and Tirieri was allowed some lands which again Government took over under their management to protect the Toda from further alienation. The Toda is now more or less maintained as a specimen for anthropological studies and as a show for sight-seers visiting the Nilgiris.

IRULAR

The tribe is mentioned only in the 1941 Census report.

Malabar returned 1244 plus 1256-- 2500 and

Nilgiris returned 1418 plus 398 - 1816.

The small number of females in Nilgiris is astonishing. It is evidently a mistake for 1,398 or a case of the women evading the enumerators.

The Irulas also occur in the neighbouring Coimbatore district. They seem to be the same as their namesakes in the East Coast. The Irula has been indentified with the Enadi of the Telugu Country who in turn has been shown as the cousin of the Chenchu. The Enadi extends along the Coastal districts eastwards of the Nallamalas, Veligondas and the Kalahasti Karvetnagar hills. He is most abundantly seen in Chittoor, Nellore and Guntur districts. In the adjacent Tamil districts of Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot, too, he is a familiar person under the names of Irular and Villiar. How the Irula got to the Nilgiris hills across the Salem district is not clear. It may be that the Malayālis ousted him from the Shevaroys, Javadies, Kollis and Pachamalais and he descended eastwards and west-wards. A similar descent by the Chenchu of Veligondas, Lankamalas and Sadasivakona hills will be described under "Chenchus". In the east, he had nothing but the Palai regions of the East Coast to inhabit and he took to the Palai mode of living and gradually got notified under the Criminal Tribes Act. In the West, there was enough of Kurinji and Mullai and the Toda, Kurumba and Kota did not grudge him a place in their home lands. As per Kota traditions the Irula is definitely a later advent. He could not really get up to the mountains and lingers even now on the Mullai of the slopes.

It should be remembered that the Kota himself claims the Kolli hills as an ancestral home. These western Irulars have no connection now with the east coat Irular or Enadi. Urali another tribe, who have traditional relationships with the Sholagar sometimes call themselves Irular. We have seen that the Betta Kurumba is called Urali. And, there is the tribe called Vorlis in the Bombay Province. But here we are concerned with the Irula in Malabar, Nilgiris and Coimbatore districts. The Irula is seen in the Gobichettipalayam taluk, in the Coimbatore taluk, in the Attapadi valley on Coimbatore borders, in the Walluvanad taluk of Malabar and on the adjacent Nilgiri slopes.

The tradition of the Koyan who founded Coimbatore, has been already mentioned. Perhaps, the Koyan was an Irula. He must

have been important at one time, for, in the interior of the Gobichettipalayam taluk at Kallampalla near Dannayakan Kottai 13 miles West South West of Satyamangalam, an Irula priest officiates at a Sivalaya. The hillmen have added a Mariamma or Mariatta to the temple to whom they sacrifice goats and fowls. The Mariamma is a recent introduction as a precaution or cure for Malaria or small pox. Again, in the Rangaswami peak on the eastern fringes of the Coonoor taluk there is a Visnu temple resorted to by the hill tribes. The temple is merely a circle of rough stones enclosing an upright one with iron saivite trident (த்ரி சூலம்) fixed in the ground. A *Namam* wearing Irula is the priest here. Chief worshippers are Irulas. Badagas come in large numbers. Only plaintains and milk are offered, and holy earth from a nearby cave is taken home.

One who has known the Enadi can easily understand how an Irula can adapt himself to circumstances; if need be, he can display resource enough to tackle Saivism and Vaisnavism and play the priest too!

The Irula of the western ghats is more fortunate than his long lost brethren of the east at least in the prospects that await him.

West of Coimbatore is Marudamalai where an Irula enclosure has been formed and further west of this is the great Attappadi Valley.

The inhabitants of the valley are Tamil and Kannada Goundans, Badagans and hill tribes like the Irular, Muduvar and Kurumbar totalling about 10,000. There are no villages yet. Formerly there were only temporary dwellings which shifted with the cultivation yearly, the cultivation having been mainly Punam or Podu. There are some 110 collections of such huts and these are called the Urs (ஊர்கள்) They are hamlets which may develop into settled villages with proper attention. This is a huge tract nearly 500 square miles in area. It is big enough to make a taluq or at least a firka by itself. It is now treated as one village with a headman or Adhikari living in Agali situated is one corner of the valley. The area is attached to the Walluvanad taluk of Malabar and there are no Malayalies here except the collection agents of the Muppil Nayar

who is the Janmi holding Sway here. The inhabitants speak Tamil and their folk songs are said to be greatly appreciated by lovers of Tamil.

Paddy is grown in the swamps and in the valley bottoms, Ragi, Samai Dhal, Modam, plantains, chilies, ginger and turmeric are grown on the dry lands.

There is a Muppan for every Ur. The adhikari of the estate or the Government collect from the tillers - Rs. 1,100/- yearly. There is no assessment of a regular type yet.

Timber is the most important product. 21 hills and part of another belong to Government: The rest were in dispute between three powerful Malabar Janmies - Mannarakkad Muppil Nayar, Palat Krishna Menon and the Eralpad Raja. The dispute led to blood - letting in 1901. A temporary settlement was made under 145 Cr. P. C.

Mannarakkad got	44 hills and parts of 5 others.
Eralpad got	16 hills and parts of 6 others.
Krishna Menon got	10 hills and another.
Janmi got	2 hills.

Elephants and ibex abound in the upper slopes which are however difficult of access. Coffee and rubber plantations have come up. The valley is very feverish and dreaded for this reason.

When not engaged or forest or estate work, the Irulars cultivate for their own consumption - Ragi, Samai, Tinai, Tuvarai, Red gram, Maize, Plantains etc., They also grow limes, oranges, jack, etc. Like the Kotas, they will not attend to cultivation on Saturday or Monday. The Badagas supply the offerings to deities-Cocoanuts, plaintains, milk and ghee-to the Irulas for the offering to the deity before sowing.

Irulas have small plots of land near their villages. Cultivate assiduously with grain. Wages in the estates however is their mainstay. Some are splendid cattle-men. Irula women are as useful as the men and both are far more industrious than the Tamil coolies.

According to one old account, "in the Nilgiris, the Irula makes a poor show of himself. The cultivation is done in a poor fashion - crops are poor, no harvesting is done The whole family shifts into a temporary habitation in the field and plucks the day's needs. The grain plucked is roasted on a stone heated by means of fire being kindled on it. The grain gets parched and is reduced to meal which is made into cakes. The stone is again heated and the cake baked. If a hollow stone is available, it is filled with water after being heated and a sort of poridge is made." There is a lot of resource - fulness perhaps displayed in this but it also shows that the Irula had been reduced to that state by the usurping planters. For a good part of the year, they live on a kind of wild yam called Irula - root.

The Irula will not eat beef; some of them evince the Kui's aversion to milk even.

As with the Enadi, the Irula marriage system is very lax. Sexes cohabit indiscriminately, the option being with the woman.

It is stated by one writer that when an Irula dies a Kurumba shaves the head of another Kurumba. The shorn man is fed and presented with a cloth which is wrapped round the head. Perhaps, the Kurumban played the priest and personated the dead as is usual in the Hindu 'Shraddas'. The dead are buried in a sitting posture.

Irula settlements exist in the following places :

1. From Ettimamadai in the Coimbatore Taluq to Walayar in the Malabar district there are Irula hamlets at Edacheri, Parappatti, Naduppatti, Sholakkarai, Madamathi and Pullimanpatti. The Irulas have a precarious livelihood-some cultivation and cooly work. They are indebted to the ryots on whose lands they live. They supplement their earnings with edible roots and bamboo seeds. They are mostly labourers and sometimes tenants and have no bulls and implements of their own for agriculture.

2. The Bangalamedu settlement near Valayar waterfall in the Sholakkarai Reserve Forest. This is in the jurisdiction of the

Iruttuppallam Forest Range. 15 miles from Coimbatore. There were originally 27 houses but only 12 remain now.

The Irular live on felling bamboo for forest contractors. This work is available for 3 days in a week during six months in a year. They are paid one rupee on each such working day. The forest department has granted them lands at one acre per head but wild elephants destroy the cultivation. The Irulas eat roots and are also known to illicitly fell timber and sell them clandestinely.

They make bamboo mats, baskets etc and also grass mats for their own use. They can also make plough shares and wheels. But these are not manufactured on a commercial scale. They grow some Ragi, Samai and Cotton.

Although execellent pasture is available they cannot keep cattle being in the Reserve forest area. The Forest department gave them 6 bulls for ploughing – one died and another was killed by a wild tusker. Some of these tribes live by watching fields in the plains for the ryots, like Enadis. They are treated badly by the ryots.

Malnurition, malaria, laziness and non-production form a vicious circle characterising the Irulas life as they do that of most other tribes.

KURUMBAR.

There is a confusion of names in regard to this tribe. Three names are recorded – Kuruman, Kurumban and Kuruban. Kuruba is the name of the large shepherd community on the Karnataka plateau who are seen in the Tamil and Telugu districts also. They speak Kannada. In Mysore itself, these Kurubas are divided into the Uru or village Kurubar and the Kadu Kurubar or forest Kurubas. These Kadu Kurubas are again divided into two classes. The 'Betta' or hill Kurubar are "a small active people, capable of great fatigue and experts at forest work." They have the sub-division "*Ane*" – elephant, "*Bevina*" – Nim tree and "*Kolli*" – fire brand.

The Jenu or Jen or Ten Kuruba is darker aud inferior. They collect, as the name Ten - தேன் indicates, honey and bees - wax.

We have mentioned the Kurumborai in the first Part and how they fled to the hills before the Chola Adondai. The Pallava Kurumborai never recovered from this. The Cholas made Kanchi one of their Captials and in time the very title 'Tondral' (தோன்றல்) was appropriated. by the Viceroy of the Cholas at Kanchi. Karunakara, the Senapati, who led the Kalinga Campaign of Kulottunga Chola is given this title. See the following verses in Kalingattupparani :—

"வண்டை வளம்பதி பாடீரே,
மல்லையும் கச்சியும் பாடீரே
பண்டை மயிலையும் பாடீரே
பல்லவர் **தோன்றலைப்** பாடீரே.
காட்டிய வேழவணி வாரிக்
கலிங்க பரணி நங்கா வலனை
சூட்டிய தோன்றலைப் பாடீரே
தொண்டையர் வேந்தனைப் பாடீரே."

The hero is called the "Tondral of the Pallavas" and the "King of Tondaiyar".

The fallen Kurumbarai took to the hills. After a few centuries of rulership, they evidently could not get back to their old Mullai ways and be prosperous: or, it may be that the forest had passed into other's hands. They could not recover and appear to have gradually degenerated into their present miserable condition. Their hamlets could no more be Padis - பாடிகள். They were mere Kurumbus குறும்பு, of the Palai type. The Kurumborai, lords of Mullai. became the Kurumbar-inhabitants of a Palai settlement Kurumbu. It is significaut that the Malayalam speaking Kurumbans of Wynaad are anxious to divide themselves off from the other Kurumbas and call themselves Mullai Kurumbar. It is noteworthy that one taluq in Malabar is called Kurumbranad. It may have been 'Kurumborai Nadu'.

The Jenu and the Betta Kurumbar have their homes in Wynaad, Nilagiris and the adjoining Mysore hills.

The Betta Kurumba is called in Malayalam *Urali.*

In the 1901 Census, a tribe called Kolayan – கோல் ஆயன் was returned from North Malabar and Kasaragod of South Kanara districts. They were declared to be same as Urali and their traditional occupation was tending cows which is true to the tribes' name. Kol–means a stick; Ayan is a cow-herd. They are now brick layers and masons in North Malabar and masonry work in temples is done by them.

Uralis–the cousins of the Sholagas–call themselves Irulas and the Irulas in the Attappadi are said to be excellent cattlemen.

The Sholaga has points that bring him close to the Jen Kurumbar. The Jen Kurumba are called Kattu-Nayakans in the Begur area. They are also called Sholanayakans.

If then, the Kurumbar and Irular could be connected through the Urali and the Kol Ayan, it will signify a Kurumborai origin to the Irula also–not merely the Irula of this area but those of the East Coast.

It has been suggested that the Kurumbar may be the remnant of a widespread race which erected the dolmens and cairns seen in these districts. It should be noted that the Kurubar of the plains in some places erect dolmens even to-day. As for being widespread who could spread more than the Kurumborais-the Pallavas-who ruled from Vizagapatam to Cape Comorin with a splendour and a vigour not eclipsed by any other empire in India?

The Census figures in respect of these tribes are very indecisive and confusing owing to the different names used.

In 1881, Kurumbans were returned from Malabar only as 1801 plus 1872–3673.

In 1891, the same name was returned from Malabar and Nilgiris as 6802 plus 6089–12891 for Malabar and 2192 plus 1774–3966 for Nilgiris.

Evidently the Malabar enumeration improved or there had been a migration of Kadu Kurumbar from Mysore and Coorg.

From 1901 to 1931, Malabar retnrned some 10,000 at each census. In 1941, however, a difference has been made between Kuruban and Kuruman. In Malabar 4046 were enumerated as Kurubas and none under the name Kuruman. In Nilgiris 889 were shown as Kurubas and 2,244 as Kuruman.

Even this is doubtful for, in 1937, a report says that there were 1300 Kurumbar in the Pondalur firqa of the Gudalur Taluq of Nilgiris. Separate figures for the Mullai, Jen and Betta sections are not available.

The Mullai Kurumbans are petty cultivators or farm servants. Their mode of life resembles that of Kurichans. They are honest in their dealings. They have a caste organisation and a headman called Muppan. They speak Malayalam. They are found near Pulipalli.

The Jen or Ten Kurumbars speak a patois of Tamil with an admixture of Kannada and even some Telugu. The Kurumba forester calling the tribesmen to collect shouted "Ella vara nittagu" where 'ittagu' sounds like Telugu. They are darker than the Betta Kurumbar and are said to be inferior to them in the social scale. They live in small detached huts in the interiors of jungles. They have a chavadi for unmarried girls and another for unmarried adult males. The latter is called Pundugar Chavadi – Pundugar meaning Vagabond. They have headmen called Mudalis and worship "Masti". In the estates, they are given a site for huts. A collection of Kurumba huts in the Nilgiris – usually four or five huts of bamboo and mud is called a "Mottam" – மொத்தம். In Wynaad they call it Padi or Hadi (Kannada). They use large oval baskets for storing grains; gourds, as water bottles. The male dress is a woollen Kambli of coarse cloth; the female dress is a sadi of coarse cloth worn in the plains fashion. The Jen shaves his head and wears a tuft behind.

They subsist on honey, bamboo seed, edible roots. In Wynaad they work in the coffee, pepper and orange plantations. The estates are supposed to allow the Kurumbar some land for paddy cultivation near their habitation, but they are inconsiderable bits within 25 yards

of the Padi. Honey and roots are their staple food during the season when they are available. They are said to prefer them to cereals but the real reason seems to be that the rations at the estates are insufficient. They eat the bison's flesh.

The Betta Kurumbar are active, workers and expert woodmen. They are good 'Mahuts' also and useful at Keddah operations. The Betta Kurumba does not shave his hair but brings it on to the top of his head in a knot. The Betta women wear the 'sadi' somewhat in the Coorg fashion.

They speak a patois of Kannada with an admixture of low Tamil.

They worship the sylvan deities Narali and Mastamma. Their huts are rude and a group of them is called a Hadi–the Kannada for Padi. They eat flesh and drink liquor–a favourite beverage made from Ragi flour. They will not eat the bison's fiesh. They will not touch leather now wear shoes and do not permit anyone to enter their huts with shoes on. They take food only from the high castes. They have privileges in temples.

They bury their dead if children and cremate adults.

They are said to be very revengeful but if kindly treated they do willing service.

They are poor and miserably fed and clothed. They use broken glass as a razor.

The Betta and Jen Kurumbar do not mix with each other though they live close to each other.

These tribes generally work for three kinds of masters - The Janmi or local landlords, the forest department and the estates of planters. Cloth and food are scarce. They indulge in shifting cultivation when possible.

In the Begur forests of Wynaad 2,000 acres out of the total 50,000 acres are eminently fit for wet cultivation. The Kurumbar live here and if these lands are given to them they promise to settle

down in a pucca Padi (village) and cultivate, and also attend to forest work.

Engagement for marriage among the Kurumbar is done before puberty. The son-in-law elect works for the girls' parents until she attains age after which he walks away with her. There is no marriage rite.

The Jen Kurumbar punish adultery with flogging. A woman who prefers another to her husband is called a Kutiga. (குடிகா); the same name is applied to a widow who indulges in carnal enjoyment. Children are never illegitimate to whomsoever born.

They have Saiva Jangams as Gurus and worship Siva. They also worship a deity called Kuriballaraya-interpreted usually as lord of many sheep.

On the Nilgiris Jen Kurumbar and Solagar collect the honey. They have a very keen eye that can follow a discharged bullet and a very keen hearing, but the keeness is only as far as exigencies of his life are concerned. His visual acuity is not otherwise greater than normal.

SHOLAGA AND URALI

"They speak a bad or old dialect of Kannada, have scarcely any clothing, sleep round a fire on a few plantain leaves using the same to cover themselves. They live chiefly on summits of mountains where the tigers do not frequent. Their huts are most wretched-bamboo bent and both ends stuck in to form an arch and covered with plantain leaves" – This is how Buchanan (1807)-described this tribe.

The up-to-date Sholaga who inhabits the jungles between Dimbhum and Kollegal is clad in a cotton loin cloth supplemented by a coat and smears himself with ashes after the Saiva fashion.

Tradition says that in days of yore there were two brothers in the Geddesale hills–Karaya and Billaya or Madheswara. The Uralis and Sholagas are descendants of Karayan and the Lingayats of Madheswara or Billaya, A Rakshasa–Savanan–captured both and made Karayan a shepherd; ill-treated Madheswara and ordered him

to make a pair of slippers. Madheswara sought Krishna's help. That wily god taught him to make waxen shoes, wearing which, Savana was invited to climb up a rock previously heated by a fire of Madheswara. The wax melted; Savana died. Karayan got angry that Madheswara had done this treachery without his knowledge and pursued him and finally pardoned him on condition that first offerings during any worship are made to him. To this day Sivacharis at Madheswaranmalai offer first to Karayan before worshipping Madheswara.

The Sholagas are in five septs–Chalikiri, Teneru, Belleri, Surya and Aleru.

There is a 'Yejamana' (எஜமானன்) assisted by a Pattagara. The Chalavati is the village servant. The functionaries belong, as a rule, to the Chalikiri, Teneri, and Surya septs respectively.

The dead are buried with body lying on left side, head to south. Staple food is Ragi paste. Sholagars and Uralis collect forest produce. On the Nilgiris, Jen Kurumbars and Sholagars collect honey.

It is said that even wild beasts will scent a Sholaga and flee before the aroma.

Sholagars inhabit the depths of the forests at the foot and on the slopes of the Biligiri Rangan hills. They are also employed as farm coolies and for tending cattle by plainsmen.

Uralis: dwell at an altitude of 1800 feet in the jungles of Dimbhum in the Coimbatore district. They are familiar with Badagas who have a settlement not many miles away; with the Todas who occasionally migrate across the Nilgiri frontier in search of grazing land; and the Kurumbas and Irulas who live on the lower slopes of Nilgiris with the civilised world they are familiar as they carry loads down to the plains at Satyamangalam, only 17 miles away.

Like Badagas they wear a turban and shave and wear a 'Kudumi' (tuft), The making of fire with flint and steel was the old habit. Matches are now used.

Uralis claim to be children of Billayya and to have seven Kulams whilst Sholagars are of five Kulams and are children of Karayya.

They call themselves *Uralis* or *Irulas*, and say that as Billayya and Karayya were brothers they may also be called Sholagas. But there is no intermarriage between Urali and Sholagan. We saw how Sivacharis were descended from Billayya or Madhesvaran. The Uralis and Sholagars are both derived from Karayya as per that legend. They speak a mixture of Tamil and Kannada and have a number of exogamous septs. Their livelihood is by collection of minor forest produce. Some till and cultivate various food grains. Others own sheep and cattle. A few families own land given free by the Forest Department, in lieu of services to that department.

They are not hard working and get indebted to Chetties. Their staple food is Ragi. They also eat all flesh including black monkeys but abhor beef, cats, toads, bears and white monkeys.

Headman is called 'Yajamana' (எஜமானன்) who must belong to the exogamous sept 'Sambe'. To assist him three others viz: Pattagara, Gowda and Kolkara belonging to the Kolkatti, Kolakara and Kurinanga septs are appointed. The Kolkara has to invite the panchayat, collect the fines and be present at marriages. He is the executive officer and the Kol or stick is perhaps the symbol of authority.

Marriage is performed by the tying of the Tali. Bride's money is paid. The parents of the boy have to propose. Kuduvali (கூடுவாழி) is an informal union achieved through elopement into the jungle until discovery. The marriage is ratified by a panchayat and bride's money and fine are imposed.

They bury their dead. They sacrifice sheep and goats to Palrayan - Milk king. They observe 'Tai Nonbu' (தை நோன்பு) which is Pongal and Vyasi probably the Tamil New Year. Cattle are given salt water in the Vyasi festival.

As per the Collector's report in G. O. No. 1988 Public (Political) dated 20–10–1937, Shola Naikens were about 350 in number in the

Nilgiris and live in the jungles and Pandalur firka of Gudalur taluk. They were mostly coolies in the estates and under Chetties. But these Shola Naikans are probably Jen Kurumbas. In the 1931 and 1941 census, the Sholagars were returned as below :-

	Coimbatore.	Nilgiris.	Trichinopoly.	Tinnevelly.
		1941.		
Males.	1895	278	10	—
Females.	1829	276	14	—
Total.	3724	554	24	—.
		1931.		
Males.	1359	41	—	83
Females.	1579	38	—	78
Total.	2875	79	—	161

In Coimbatore district, the Forest Department has formed five settlements for them in the Kollegal taluk. Lands were given to them free of assessment in the Reserve Forest and about 400 acres of lands are under cultivation. In the two Forest divisions of North and South Coimbatore, the department has leased lands to about 61 family groups under darqast rules. Some 170 acres in the Gobichettipalayam taluk and 15 acres in the Kollegal Taluk.

Malaria is the curse of the place and should be eradicated.

THE TRIBES OF THE ANAMALAIS HILLS.

The Aanamalais or 'Elephant Hills' lie to the south of the Pollachi and Udumalpet taluks of Coimbatore district. They are a continuation of a huge range which runs through Travancore. — the Cardamom Hills — and are also connected with the Palni Hills of the Madura district. They are bounded on the west by the Cochin and Kollengode Hills and on the south and east by the Travancore and Palni Hills. The main range runs from southeast to northwest. The well known Torakadavu Valley lies to the east of this range, Between it and a secondary range which slopes down gradually into the Eastern Ghats, the Vadamalaiaru. the Sholaiaru,

the Palakadavu stream and the Torakadavu stream are the chief rivers and they all flow westwards towards Cochin. The Torakadavu stream is joined by the Palar past the Anamalai village; the Palar rises on the eastern slopes of the secondary eastern range. The Torakadavu stream is called Aliyar after Poonachi where it makes a waterfall (300 feet). The Amaravati, an important tributary of the Kaveri, rises in the Anjanadu Valley above Anamalais in Travancore Hills and is fed by important feeder streams from the Anamalai Hills. It may here be mentioned that the Anjanadu Valley is geographically part of the Madras side of these hills. The hills are divided into Upper and Lower Ranges. Peaks on the Upper Range are some of them higher than 8,000 feet above sea level and plateaus exist which are over 7,000 feet. These plateaus are connected with similar ones in Travancore territory. The plateau region in the Upper Ranges of the Anamalais are estimated to make an area of nearly 100 square miles. They contain magnificent scenery, mighty chasms divide one plateau from another. Dark over green forests are seen in vivid contrasts with rolling downs. Much valuable timber exists in these forests. But the working of these forests appears difficult. They, however, serve to preserve the water shed above described, The products of these ranges include also Cardamoms, Dammer, honey, bees' wax, turmeric and ginger. The Lower Ranges contain excellent teak, at an altitude of 1,500 to 3,000 ft. Near Palakadavu River these trees have grown to wonderful sizes — the record being a tree cut in Tekkadi Forest which was 124 ft. high and 23 feet in girth and yielded 5 to 6 hundred cubic feet of workable timber. These forests are known to have supplied timber to the Bombay Dock Yard of olden days. The value of these forests had been realized quite early.

Apart from the forest, the Anamalais are also famous for the plantations.

The Hills had not obviously escaped the eye of the early rulers of Tamilnad; the Cholas had built the Siva temple at the village of Anamalai and also the old fort there. Subsequent rulers have paid similar attention. On the Cochin side of these hills are found some ruined temples with Tamil inscriptions in the 'Kole-ezhuthu'

and 'Vattezhuthu' (கோலெழுத்து and வட்டெழுத்து) scripts and other edifices indicating that these places were once receiving greater attention from plainsmen. Later inscriptions in Malayalam also are prominent. During some period, howover, the hills and the tribes who were living there seem to have lost touch with plainsmen except from the Cochin side.

There are, on the Anamalais, four different tribes, Muduvar, Kadar, Malasar and Pulayar. A recent estimate claims that there are about 2,000 families of these tribes on the hills, It is, however, difficult to give a correct idea of the population here, for, the tribes, chiefly the Malasars and Muduvars keep on the move from these hills into the neighbouring Travancore and Cochin hills. The census figures regarding these tribes have, therefore, been very uncertain.

Although their fortunes have been cast together on these hills and although they may now make a common cry against exploitation by planters and others, these tribes, in their origin, appear to have been different from one another. They, however, have a common cause which is their right to be restored to their possession of the resources of Anamalais who - ever else is allowed to share them equitably and justly with them.

THE PULAYARS.

They have been aptly described by the phrase "the Pulayan of the wild looks". They are met with even on the slopes of the Anamalais as we ascend from Udumalpet. Early writers have remarked on the enormous length of their hairs. The Pulayar would not cut it but arrange it into 6 or 8 plaited coils gathered into one single lock at the back of the head. It is said that a Pulayan 5' 10" in height had hair trailing a foot on the ground. Some 'Dandies' of the tribe-would wear their hair in large bunches at the sides bound round the forehead with a small brass chain. Some, however, are said to have taken no pride whatever in their hair and had them standing out in a dishevelled fashion like savages. The dress of the Pulaya is similar to that of a plainsman. Generally, they are dressed in dirty rags. A few well-to-do can afford even a turban. Their

village consists of scattered huts built with bamboo and thatched grass. They usually have 'pandals' in front of the houses which make the living comfortable. They also build temporary huts while they are on the move.

The Pulayas are not particular as to what they eat. They eat all animal food and rats are favourite dishes. They have ingenious traps made with bamboo and string for catching the rats, jungle fowls and other birds. Their economic condition is very bad. They are slave-like in their habits, and are generally mostly useful in carrying loads up hills. Some of them possess guns and shoot the pig, etc: The Pulayar eat the Bison also.

THE MALASARS

This tribe is also known as 'Malayar' or 'Malai Arasar, (மலை அரசன்). They speak a 'Patois' of Tamil and follow 'Makkatayam' (son succeeding father). Menarikam (marrying the maternal uncle's daughter) is popular with them. Their headmen are called 'Mooppans'. They work as agricultural labourers and forest coolies. They are good at catching and training elephants. In the census of 1941 they numbered 4265 males plus 4176 females in Coimbatore district and 1112 males plus 1049 females in Malabar. These figures are very much higher than the returns in the previous decenniums. For instance, in 1931, there were 4719 persons in Coimbatore and 382 in Malabar. But as I have already stated this tribe migrates in such a way that the increase may be due to the advent of large batches from the neighbouring Cochin and Travancore territory. The Malasar are said to be quite different in character from the slave-like Pulayan. The Malasar are divided into Nattu Malayans and Kongu Malayans.

The Malasar live at a much lower elevation than the Kadar. They are found almost down on the plains and along the slopes near the foot of the hills. They are somewhat sturdier in build but have not the characteristic features of regular hillmen. As coolies they are not dependable and are said to desert en masse on the smallest excuse. They are excellent axemen and indispensable as baggage coolies. They carry loads on their heads unlike the Kadar and Pulayar who will strap their luggage on to their backs. There are three grades of Malasars according to the region in which they

live - (1) Malai Malasars in the Mount Stuart region; (2) Those on the slopes and (3) those on the plains. Malasars were known to commit decoities when there was a chance. Kadars and Eravalars are sometimes admitted into the Malasar caste.

A Malasar settlement is called 'Padi' or 'Patti'. It consists of 20 or 30 huts. The streets are called 'Chalais (சாலை). The 'Padis' are named after the owners of the land, eg. 'Sarkar Padi' or 'Karuppa Goundan Padi'. A landlord usually keeps under him a number of Malasars to whom he gives land free of rent for raising food crops. In return they must work in their fields and do other services for the landlord who is called a 'Mannadi'. The Malasars are proverbially lazy; they will take a week's wages in advance and drink it away.

The Malayan huts are characteristic and roofed with bamboo and leaves. The hut is raised high on clumps of bamboos over which planks are spread to make the flooring. A thick and firm mud coating covers the planks. Planks are used as walls and for roofing also. A single bamboo with the knots serving as steps is used for climbing on to the hut. The hut is so designed as a precaution against wild animals. Sometimes, the huts are built on tree tops too. The danger of wild animals appears to be real; the Malasar always keeps his bow ready and keeps a few arrows always in fire for use against them. They are now taking to permanent huts in the forests. A staff and a knife in the girdle are the Malasar's usual weapons. Sometimes, bows and arrows too.

The Malasars marry off their girls before puberty. The marriage usually takes place after the 10th year. The parents choose the husband. The betrothel is signified by the tying of a 'Manjakkayiru' (மஞ்சக்கயிறு) round the bride's neck by the prospective mother-in-law. The marriage takes place in the bride-groom's house. The husbands party goes to the bride's house with the wedding saree 'Koorapudavai' (கூறைப்புடவை) and after being entertained there fetch the bride over with her people for the wedding. The bride's parents hand over the girl and depart after an entertainment. Marriage is indissoluble. In cases of misconduct by a wife the

village assembly meets and on finding the woman guilty sentence her to flogging after which she is sent off to her parents. The husband will not take her back, but any other may marry her. Widow remarriage is allowed but the widow must marry outside the the clan and the village of her deceased husband.

The Gods worshipped are 'Veerabhadran' and 'Bhadrakali' represented by heaps of stones under a tree. Pooja for a 'Mandalam. (மண்டலம்) from the 1st of 'Karthigai' (கார்த்திகை) to the 15th of 'Margazhi' (மார்கழி) is performed. Sheep and fowls are offered. 'Mállan' is another deity worshipped with a view to ward off elephants and tigers. They observe ,Sankaranthi', 'Vishu' and 'Onam' as auspicious days. The Malasar's belief in spirits is from a social point of view a very useful superstition. A Malasar will not injure another for fear his spirit may injure him. The belief is that each one has some spirits at his or her command.

The common names adopted by the Nattu Malayans are 'Raman', 'Aiyappan', 'Velayudhan', 'Kochi', 'Madi' and 'Lakshmi'. The Nattu Malayans follow the 'Marumakkathayam' (மருமக்கத்தாயம்) inheritance which is a sign of their having been longer in touch with the Kerala borders than the Konga Malayans. Polygyny is allowed, but not polyandry. A seperate hut is usually reserved for confinement (delivery). Pollution is observed for 15 days They are divided into clans, the clans being named after the forests they occupy or some ancestor. An image of an ancestor is often worshipped, The Nattu Malayans claim descent from 'Siva' and 'Parvati', who came down as hunters to grant the 'Pasupada' (பாசுபதம்) to Arjuna. Sometimes allusion is made also to 'Surpanaka' of the Ramayana and the descent from her. But the Malayans claim to have been 'Nayars' living on the hills and artibute their present degradation to their women having fallen in the past and indulged in intercourse with low caste men in the plains.

The Konga Malayan who is found alongside of the Nattu Malayan claims to have come from 'Kongu Mandalam'. They are perhaps connected with the Malyalees of Shevaroys or Kollis or are

people driven up from the plains during some political upheaval. In appearance, the Nattu Malasars are dark brown, They are short. Their face becomes pointed towards the chin. They are strong and healthy, gentle, submissive and trustworthy. They part their hair in the middle and knot it at the back. Even persons over 50 are not greyhaired. The women are good-looking. The Kongu Malayans are as tall as Nattu Malayans and taller than Kadars. They are dark in colour and show a tendency to a flat nose and thick lips. This has been attributed to a Kadar admixutre, but it must be remembered that the Malayalees of Shevaroys also show this tendency which he must have acquired from the Irula whom he replaced on these hills. The Kongu Malayan wears a 'Veshti' (வேஷ்டி) with a 'Kacham' (கச்சம்) and an upper cloth or cumbly on the shoulders. They are dirty. Their women are dark and lean. They wear brass and palm leaf rolls in the ears, brass-bond necklace and 'metti' on their second toe. At an oil bath, they use clay and cow dung. They dress somewhat like the Kadar women. They do not look cheerful and look poor and timid. They have exogamous septs: they follow menarikam; marriages are arranged between boys and girls whilst young by parents and this betrothal is a definite affair in the life of the girl, for if the boy dies, the girl has difficulty in marriage. Payment of bride's price is usual. Soon after marriage the couple live in a seperate hut on their own labour — a custom common amongst the Goundans of Kongu Nadu. The elder sons walk out this way; but they contribute to their parents' maintenance when the latter are no longer able to work. The naming of a child is done in the third month, by the Pujari who gets inspired into an Oracle - 'Velichapadu' and announces the name. Common names are 'Mallan', 'Moopan', 'Karuppan' 'Tamman', 'Chadayan', 'Velli', 'Pidari', 'Karumala and Kali' 'Arasi', 'Malli', 'Kathi', 'Mayal'. 'Chettichi' and 'Nayithi'. The village, like the Nattu Malayan village, has 20 or 30 huts. The Mooppan prescribes the work to be done on the landlord's fields and hears complaints and presides at marriage festivals. He has to look after the welfare of the community. They worship a number of animist Gods viz., 'Ballambara Andan', 'Karumala Mooppan' 'Nayithi Athal'. 'Manakkadamman', 'Kali' and 'Pali-amma'. There is a Pujari for every 'Padi'.

They bury their dead and toddy is freely used during funerals. Their occupations are agricultural labour and wood-cutting. They are said to be somewhat addicted to stealing, robbing and burglary.

Collection of forest produce is the main occupation of the Malasar. The forest area is divided up amongst the villages and poaching in another's area is never done. In fact, if a beehive or its wax bears the impression of another having spotted it, a Malasar will not touch it. This resembles the sense prevailing in Hindu villages in the plains when a woman setting out for dung collection will not touch droppings bearing the mark of another's foot - a queue sense by which the first one to notice the dropping reserves the right to it by just pushing it slightly to a side with her foot and picking it up later at her leisure.

They are excellent trackers and clever at trapping hare and deer. They dam up the streams in hot weather for collection of fish which they stupefy by throwing into the water some leaf or root.

Greater part of their food is a wild yam. They secure rice by selling or exchanging their collections. Samai, Tinai and Kambu are used for Kanji. The greatest delicacy with which they welcome high caste folk is the bamboo seed boiled in honey inside a hollow bamboo plastered with mud and placed or fire. The bamboo splits and out comes a cylindrical soft and sweet mass. They eat carcasses left over by the tiger. In addition to the deer and the Ibex they eat Bison flesh also. They abstain from the flesh of the cow, the dog, the tiger and the elephant.

MUDUVAR OR MUDUGAR,

Muduvars or Mudugars are a tribe of hill cultivators in Coimbatore, Mudura, Malabar and Tranvancore.

Outsiders call this tribe Tagappanmargal (தகப்பன் மார்கள்) meaning fathers (a title used by low castes to masters). The Muduvars have a dialect of their own - Tamil with a few Malayalam words.

Men's names are the usual Hindu God's names but Kanjan (dry or stingy), Karuppu Kunji கருப்புக்குஞ்சி, - black chick, Kunjita குஞ்சித (chicken), Karmegam கார்மேகம், black cloud - are in vogue also. Females similarly have the special names. Karuppayi கருப்பாயி, Kuppi (sweepings) கூப்பி, (paichi பைசி - shedevil).

They do not claim to be indigenous to the hills - Legend is that they belonged to Madura. Owing to a war in which the Pandyan was involved they fled to the hills. At Bodinayakanur the prĕgnant women were left behind and they eventually went to the Nilgiris with their offsprings. The bulk of the tribe went to the hills of Travancore. There is supposed to be enmity between these vague Nilgiris people and the Muduvar. The Nilgiris people are said to occasionally visit Bodinayakanur but, if, by chance they meet Muduvar they do not speak to them though each instinctively recognizes the other, Those that came to the High Range carried their children on their backs - hence the name. 'முதுகர்'. Mudugu = back.

Another tradition says that they carried away Meenakshi of Madura with them on their back to Neriyamangalam. The Muduvar rank high among the hill tribes. They were originally Vellalas who accompanied the Pandyan Prince to the Travancore hills. The time of the exodus is probably when the Telugu Naikers took Bodinayakanur in the fourteenth century. It may also have been when the Muslims came in Malik Kafur's time and later.

There are two types of countenances among the Muduvars and two types even in their language and customs. Perhaps, they went in two detachments or when they arrived there was already another small tribe with west coast affinities with whom they intermarried.

The tribe is in the Cardamom hills - the Kanan Devan hills; and there is one village in the Anamalais. They wander to some extent– less now owing to the establishment in their midst of planting communities. The headquarters may be said to be the western slopes of the High Range. On the plateau their dwellings are rectangular, rather flat roofed huts made of jungle sticks and grass

and very neat in appearance. On the western slopes the huts are rougher though good materials are available. Bamboo is used. Here, the back of the roof has no wall - the roof sloping down on to the hill side behind.

Outsiders are not generally admitted into the caste but a weaver boy and girl, starving and deserted on the hills in the famine of 1877 were adopted. A Totia Naick child similarly adopted is now full blown Muduvar with a Muduvar wife. They permit Vellalas to enter their community but insist on a peroid of probation.

Disputes are settled by panchayats of elders in a village, the eldest being the head. References are made sometimes to the Muppan, a sort of sub-headman. There is also a 'Mel-Vaken'. These two offices are hereditary in the Marumakkattayam way. Adjudicators are sought by parties concerned. There is no machinery to enforce them.

They observe Omens and auspicious hours. A peculiar custom is mentioned according to which, when boys reach puberty the parents give a feast to the village. In the case of girl, the usual living apart in a special hut intended for all women in menses is done.

Childless couples are dieted, the man on plenty of black monkey and the woman on herbs and spices.

Among the plateau Muduvars there is occasional polyandry. Brothers are prohibited from having a common wife as also cousins on fathers side. A man may be polygynous in one village and may belong to a polyandrous group in another.

On the Cardamon hills and on the Western slopes they abhor both polygyny and polyandry.

A couple that propose to marry each other must live in a cave by themselves for a few days. Widow remarriage is permitted and a widow must be taken by the deceased's maternal aunt's son and not by brothers. Divorce is allowed but it is not etiquette to do so except for infidelity or in case of incompatibility of temper. Divorced wives

may remarry. The Gods are Palaniandavar – பழனியாண்டவர், Kadavullu–கடவுள் Meenakshi and her husband Sokuru–மீனாக்ஷி–சொக்கர், also–Chantiattu Bhagavathi and Neriyamangalam, Sasta. Suryan (Sun) (சூரியன்) is a beneficent deity. Tai (தை) Pongal is the only important festival. All who visit the village must be fed.

The bury the dead–laying the corpse north–south. They believe that a kill lying north or south will not be eaten by a tiger or cheetah, They dress like Tamil Maravans. Originally cultivators, they have now taken to hunting to suit the country. They do some shifting cultivation and grow Ragi and Hill Rice. They catch rats, squirrels, quail, jungle fowl, porcupines, mouse–deer and fish. They kill with a blowpipe and dart many small birds. They use traps of three kinds. They are experts at catching the ibex (wild goat). The Muduvar is a good shot with a gun too.

The implement par excellence of the Muduvar is the Billhook. They will not eat beef, dog, jackals on snakes. The plateau Muduvars will not eat pig in any form also. Liquor from a wild palm called 'Tippili Kal' is a favourite drink. They think no one is good enough to eat and drink or smoke with them. In former days they were shy of strangers. The two types of Muduvars are:

(1) acquiline nosed and thin lipped; men usually belong to this.

(2) flat nosed, wide nostrilled and thick lipped; the women usually belong to this and they compare unfavourably with the men in face.

There is an intermediate type of men but men of the second type are not seen.

KADAR.

They are a short broad nosed people. They live by hunting and by collecting forest produce. They are excellent trackers of game and expert tree climbers. They drive in wooden pegs as they go up the tree - having the pegs tied round the waist. A method similar to what the Dayaks of Borneo are reported to be accustomed to.

They use a chain of loops made of rattan to descend precipitous rocks in pursuit of the rock bee hive. The wife must guard above when he descends. The brother is avoided - compare the Yenadi having his wife's brother to watch. If a man friend watches on top, the Kadar will take the friend's wife along with him in the descent so as to ensure his safety. He insists on coming back the way he got down though an alternative way is easier.

They eat many roots in the form of a curry. Rarely go in for animal food. Rice is a luxury. They take opium in small quantities but toddy is liked even more; men and women drink freely. They were once a dry people but the Government of the day chiefly Cochin - reached the liquor upto them.

Some writers have said that the Kadar lives on succulent roots, bamboo seed, sheep, fowls, python, deers, porcupine, field rats, monkeys etc., yet, they display a hard well nourished body. The mealy portion of the seeds of the cycas tree which flourishes on the lower slopes of the Anamalais is a part of their menu. The fruit is poisonous in its raw state but is sliced, soaked in running water, dried and ground into flour and baked in hot ashes.

Sago palm (கூந்த பனை) is cut down into lengths of 1½ feet, beaten and a powder extracted by washing in water. The powder is boiled to the consistency of rubber and cut into pieces. This is tough but palatable enough (Why not the Koya do this?). Roasting flesh with skin on is preferred. Kadars consume a lot of opium. Women chew tobacco – men smoke. The Negrito in Malacca has the same combs and chipped teeth.

Their marriage customs are similar to those of the Malasars, but they consider themselves superior to malasars. The Kadar wears a comb in the hair of his head. They have a curious habit of chipping the incisor teeth to the shape of a sharp cone. It is said to be a painful operation but gone through by every boy and girl The Vedar also practice this.

Habitations:

The Kadar chooses the site for his 'Pathi' (பட்டி) with an eye to defence. Water supply is one consideration. The villages are

seldom permanent and are located on the bank of a stream or on an open glade in a dense forest. Village consists of from 10 to 20 huts; huts are generally of bamboo – rarely of timber walls; roofs are also of bamboo, thatched with teak, punna leaves or grass. Doors are made to form sliding panels of bamboo work.

A raised platform inside is used for sleeping. A Kora mat makes the bed. A fire place is arranged in a corner of the hut.

Women are in charge of the fire which is kept up continuously owing to the long and difficult method of producing it. The Kaḍars and the Malasar used to make fire by striking a piece of flint with a piece of steel; a kind of pith was used as the cotton. For cooking, earthen pots are used; for other purposes bamboo. Water is kept n a hollow bamboo block, a yard or two in length, called Kumbham (கும்பம்); the nodes and internodes of this bamboo are bored an inch or two in diameter. This makes their water bottle on their marches.

Adults only marry and by mutual consent. There is no bride-price but presents are exchanged between the parents. The bride-groom's mother ties the Tali and the bride's father puts the turban on the groom's head. The couple link the little fingers of their right hands and walk round the pandal and then sit and exchange betel. Men and women dance separately. The bride accompanies the bridegroom to his hut. Feasting is done for two days, of relations and friends.

Another way of marrying is for a young man to go out of his village for a whole year, select a girl and return for the consent of his elders. On securing this, he goes with presents and a tali of gold and ties it round the bride's neck. Feasting is done. A Kadar has to present a comb made by himself to his bride a custom similar to that of the Semangs of Indonesia.

The marriage is indissoluble. The woman is no more free. Every slip from rules of married life is punished. As a rule, Kadar girls are modest and child like, and make good wives and models of constancy.

Pregnancy is indicated by wearing the *mundu* above the breast and throwing a second cloth on the left shoulder and under the right armpit.

Delivery is done in the sitting posture. There is no midwife but mother or some old woman attends. Soon after birth, the mother and child are bathed in warm water, and for two or three weeks a medicine is given. It is made of anise, ginger, pepper, mustard, calamus and asafoetida-all well fried and boiled in water. Boiled rice and meat fried in cocoanut oil is the diet. Pollution lasts 10 days. Babies are nourished for six or seven months and after that, boiled rice and Kanji are given. For three months after confinement a woman is unclean. Namakaranam and Karnabhushanam follow and the Muppan presides and bores the ear too.

Frequently a husband discards his wife who returns to her parents. Marriage can be dissolved for incompatibility of temper and for disobedience on the part of the wife. The Council of elders hear arguments on both sides and decide finally. In case of disobedience or immoral conduct, he or she will be expelled from the hills, which means going down to the low caste men of the plains for the future.

Polygyny is indulged in with a view to increase the tribe. The first wife has precedence but each has her own cooking utensils. More wives, the richer and more esteemed. Polyandry is unknown. Widows cannot remarry but may stay in concubinage.

Family ties are well developed. The sons even after marriage live with their wives along with the parents contributing their share of maintenance or live seperately too in their own huts.

Among the Kadars the son succeeds to the property of the father but in the case of a Muppan, the eldest nephew succeeds. Muppan is appointed in the Chochin area bv the Raja with the consent of the Kadars. He is given a stick with a silver head. The Muppatti heads the Kadar women (i. e. the wife of the Muppan).

They worship Kali. Virgin girls bathe and cook rice and vegetable in honey – the rice is unhusked by these girls. All partake of the prasadam (பிரஸாதம்). 'Ayyappan' is another deity worshipped

for success in enterprises. 'Malavazhi' is a sylvan deity popular with them. He guards against wild beasts. They also worship dead ancestors in times of illness and before auspicious undertakings.

They bury their dead after washing of the body. A bamboo bier is used to carry it. The pit is 4 to 5 feet deep. A funeral dance is got up. A band plays. It consists of drum and pipe. Ornaments worn are buried with the body and removed after pollution period.

From all these it is evident that the Kadar whilst an alien-has been thoroughly Hinduised.

The primary occupation of the Kadar in collection of forest produce. They are famous snake charmers and claim to know a leaf which is antidote to the venom. The Kadar has and needs only two weapons – the bill hook and a digging spud. They can never be frightened into doing anything; when harsh words are spoken to them they simply move away. They never shirk work and are sturdy and strong. They are simple and unsophisticated and are utter aliens to vice and trickery.

Socially they are Chandalas – There is natural pollution by touch between Kadar and Malasar. They have little intercourse with each other.

Kadars consider the bison unclean and will not touch its body – same way, also the elephant's dung. Wild elephants are venerated but tame once are believed to have lost the divine element in them. Short tailed black monkeys are considered a curse to the forests and hunted.

Men wear Dhoti and turban; women wear the eight yards Sadi. The Kadars are fond of music and singing. They dance too. They sing Tamil songs. They wear a comb in their head.

Kadars add the suffix 'Ali' – ஆளி – to the names. Mudi Ali – Lazy fellow; கத்தி ஆளி – man with a knife; (பூ ஆளி) flower. They have nicknames – white mother, white flower, tiger, milk virgin, love, breasts, beauty etc.

They are excellent mimics – imitate the mode of speech of Muduvar, Malasar and other hill tribes-

They afford a typical example of happiness without culture. Unspoiled by education they still retain many of their simple manners and customs. Living isolated, in a thinly populated jungle, nature furnishing all his requirements, the Kadar has little knowledge of cultivation. He objects to working with 'mamuti' but armed with a keen edged bill hook he is immense. Less civilized men are the more they are able to do everything for themselves. The hillman is full of resource. The Kadar builds a house for himself out of Etah bamboo so neat and comfortable as to be positively luxurious – his only weapon being the bill hook. He will bridge a stream with cane and branches, make a raft of bamboo, a carving knife out of etah, a comb out of bamboo, a fishing net of fibre and fire out of dry wood. He will find food for you where you think you must starve and show you the branch which, if cut, will give you drink. He will set traps for birds and beasts which are more effective than some of the most elaborate products of machinery.

But they are essentially nomad in their habits and live in small communities. They are fond of dogs.

ERAVALLAR.

A small forest tribe inhabiting the Coimbatore district and Malabar. Found also in the Chittoor taluq of Cochin. They are also called Villu Vedans. Their langauge is Tamil though some speak Malayalam. They address elderly members of the caste as மூக்கன் and பாட்டன். Their habits are less migratory than Kadar's and Malasar's. Their 'pathis' are situated in the forests. They are not independent cultivators but are attached to farmers. Truthful and honest and faithful servants.

Paliyans :

Malai Paliyans of Madura and Tinnevelly districts.

In their village at the foot of the Periyar hills they are the most abject, hopeless and unpromising specimens of humanity. Living in a land of pure water streams and rich and luxuriant vegetation, they are as foul and filthy as very unclean animals. They could

grow abundant crops but live on nuts and roots and various kinds of gum. They are as ignorant as they are filthy, are poorly clothed with rags held about them with girdles of twisted grass. They have no domesticated animals – not even the dog. " They have an idea of hunting ", said Tracy. But General Burton has said. " they are good trackers and carried bows and arrows and even a few matchlocks ".

The Paliyans are the slaves of the Kunnuvans of Palni hills. They are called the "aborigines" of the Palni hills.

They live in scattered communities in the jungles of Upper Palnis and the Varushanad Valley. They Speak Tamil with a peculiar intonation. They are much less civilized than Pulayans but do not eat beef and consequently carry no pollution. They sometimes build themselves grass huts but often live on platforms up trees, in caves or under rocks.

They live upon roots (Yams), leaves and honey. Cook the roots by putting them into a pit, heaping wood on them and burning the wood.

Fire is kept burning all night against wild beasts. They are a shy people and avoid other folk. They have no ceremonies for weddings. Only an understanding that the man shall collect the food and woman cook it.

When anyone dies they leave the body as it is and avoid the spot for some months.

They are a nomadic tribe and rove in small parties through the jungle-clad gorges of the Upper Palni plateau. At times they hire themselves to Kunnuvan ryots of the hill villages. When they find a bee hive, they are said to smoke the bees out and feast ravenously on the spot, on the wax, grub and all.

Some Paliyans have made a name for themselves by their knowledge of medicinal herbs – e. g., Peria Uri Katti Ver – a white powder is made from this which is a good purgative and Naru Valli Ver; they always carry with them some leaves as an antidote

against snake bites. The leaves are chewed immediately anyone is bitten and also applied to the wound. They trap animals in pitfalls carefully camouflaged. In fishing, they use the creeper Karunga Kodi – the leaves are rubbed and thrown into the water and soon the fish is seen floating in the surface. Rough fashioned hooks are also used. They make small bird cages, weave a kind of rough mat and make baskets. They colour them with red and green vegetable dyes. Skins of animals and the dammar resins are the only articles collected by them.

Mayandi is the God who accepts a fowl sacrifice. The God is represented by a stone before which a fire is kindled into which the blood must drop.

They are believed by others to be capable of witchcraft. As a protection against panthers they plant four jackal's tails in four spots around the area where they stay. This becomes a magic square and the panther's mouth gets locked.

The Shenkota Paliyans derive their caste from an Ezhuva who took refuge in the hills and married a Pulaya. A Paliyan is admitted into Ezhuva and Maravan houses and in the hills those castes will even take water from him.

They attend Adi Amavasai at Courtallam and claim to be Saivas. They cultivate nothing, not even the sweet–potato. An axe, a knife and a pot complete a Paliyan's equipment. A species of sago palm gives him a glairy glutinous fluid on which he thrives.

Their speech recalls the Irula to mind. They are said to have poor memories. In an old account it is stated that a woman forgot her own name.

Marriages are generally within each settlement. Owing to paucity of girls sometime, adelphogamy is practised.

Gandamanaikanur Paliyans have broken the rule and married in Ayanar Koil with which they have become incorporated.

They admit others into their caste. A Maravan joined them and married a Paliyan woman.

There are about 160 Paliyans living in the Reserve forests in Srivilliputtur taluk.

Mannan of the Periyar regions a hill tribe of Travancore. They speak Tamil and were originally dependants of the kings of Madura like the Uralis and Muduvans. All three accompanied the Madura King to Neriyamangalam. Later on, they settled in a portion of the Cardamom hills called Makara-Alam. A chief of Pooyat nominated three of these Mannans as his agents at three Centres in his dominions and gave them badges.

1. Varayilkish Mannan at Tollairamalai.
2. Gopura Mannan at Mannan Kantham.
3. Talamala Mannan at Udumban Chola.

For these headmen the other Mannans are expected to do a lot of services. Marriages can be contracted only with the consent of headmen.

Both sexes dress like Maravans. Mannans put up the best huts among the hill tribes. They bury their dead.

The Mannans stand ahead of the other hillmen from their knowledge of Medicine.

Drink is a common vice. Widows can remarry. They follow Marumakkattayam.

They worship Sasta of Sabarimala and Periyar. They eat monkeys but not crocodile, snake, cow or buffalo. They are cheery and sociable.

Short, sturdy and hairless, the Mannans have all the appearances of an aboriginal race.

The Mannan country extends southward from the limit occupied by the Muduvans on the Cardamom hills to a point south of the territory now submerged under the Periyar works. They have, to keep to the east of the Periyar river. Fever lives in the air they breathe.

Like the Muduvans they pursue the destructive Podu cultivation.

The only communication they hold with the plains is on the Madura side.

Mala Arayans are another tribe who are a little more civilised than Mannans.

MALAYALI.

They originaily belonged to the Tamil Vellala caste and migrated from Kanchi when Mahomedan rule was dominant in South India. Three brothers led – one went to Shevaroyan, the second to Kolli and the third to Pachaimalais.

Malayalies in the Salem district.

•The Shevaroy Malaiyalies are called 'Peria Malaiyalies' and the Kolli ones 'Chinna Malaiyalies'. Another version is that the Malaiyali Deity, 'Kariraman', finding himself uncomfortable at Kanchi, took up the new above. Three of his followers Periannan, Naduvannan and Chinnan left with their families. Periannan took to Shevaroys, Naduvannan the Pachaimalais and Anjur hills and Chinnannan to Javadi hills. Another tradition which seems to be in keeping with the cultural level of the tribe is that they are descendents of Vellalas by the Vedar women the Vedar men having been killed in a conflict. They take the title of Goundan.

The Malayalies believe that their progenitors wore the sacred thread. They worship Siva and Vishnu but nominally observe புரட்டாசி சனிக்கிழமை sacred to Vishnu but they make no difference between Vishnu and Siva. Some, out of respect for Siva, abstain from sexual intercourse on Sundays and Mondays; others, for the sake of Vishnu, on Fridays and Saturdays.

Kiliyur is a picturesquely situated village with a 'Perumal Koil' and a 'Draupadi Koil'.

They have a bull-dance after Pongal — It is called 'Erudu Attam' – எருது ஆட்டம் – or 'Bull-play'. It is a tame affair compared with the 'Toda Buffalo fighting' or the Marvan's 'Jelli Kattu'.

The Guru ranks highest among the Malaiyalies and is invited to settle disputes. He comes on a pony or on foot with an umbrella over him and with music. The office is hereditary.

Touch by a broomstick (even when it is done casually during sweeping), kick by a European and jail-going require 'prayaschittam'

or expiation. The man goes to the Guru who takes him behind the screen at the temple and gives holy water. The Guru is given a feast of pork, mutton etc.

The Malaiyali eats sheep, pigs, fowls, various birds and also black monkeys, The original Vedar mothers were perhaps responsible for the last.

Each village has its headman. It is an honorary job. A Kangani on 2 ballums of grain per year is appointed under the headman. Headman summons the caste panchayat.

For every group of 10 villages there is a Pattakaran who is to attend weddings and car festivals. He should be given 8 days notice and is paid 'honours'. He has a 'Mania Keeran' under him whose job is to give notice to the 10 villages of a marriage and to summon villagers thereto.

Eight days before marriage the bride and bride-groom annoint themselves with turmeric paste.

Malaiyali huts are of bamboo thatched with palm leaves and grass and containing a central room with verandah all round for sheep, pigs, fowls, etc. Similar huts are used for granaries which have no doors. Tiled roofs are forbidden.

Penning animals for manure is in vogue. Round the whole village a low wall usually runs.

Marriage customs are peculiar. A child-boy is sometimes married to a grown up girl. The offspring are deemed to be those of the child-husband.

Widow remarriage is forbidden in some parts and is compulsory in others.

They have poorly developed muscles. "How", said one "can any of us be strong, when we have to work all day for the European".

The Malaiyalies in the North Arcot District occupy the Elagiri Javadi. Tenmalais and Chekkadi hills and the plains of Kurumalai, in the Polur taluq. They are mostly agriculturists cultivating their own lands. They raise castor, dal, kambu, ragi,

varagu, samai, avarai, cholam, mustard, dry paddy and lime, orange and plantain. They take their produce to the weekly Markets at Polur, Alangayam, Odugathur, Kanniambadi, Paramanandal, Thanippady, Kallakurichi etc. They are also employed by contractors as coolies in bamboo removal, Minor Forest Produce etc.

Two Cooperative societies at Komatiyeri (Polur Javadis) and Bhimakulam provide for the needs of Malaiyalies. There is an 'Ur' goundan' for each village and a 'Nattamaikaran' for a group of villages. They do not resort to civil or criminal courts.

The Javadi Malaiyalies have two endogamous divisions– Vellalas and Pachai Vellalas. The former do not tatoo themselves: The latter do as the word Pachai பச்சை indicates. Widows can remarry. Widows and virgins cannot choose their husbands. The Ur Goundan summons the 'Pattan', headman of the caste, who convenes a panchayat. The panchayat chooses from among eligibles placed before them. The virgin's marriage is called 'Kalyanam' (கல்யாணம்) the widow's 'Kattikiradu' (கட்டிக்கிறது) meaning 'binding or getting bound.'

Adultery by woman or man with a member of another caste results in expulsion from caste. Adultery within the caste is punished with fine.

The Malaiyalis snare game with nets. They also shoot. *Par vettai* — a hunt — is usual in the Kalrayan hills.

In the South Arcot District, the Malayalies occupy the Jagir hills of Aruja Goundar, Kurumba Goundar and Sadaya Goundar in the Kallakurichi taluq. This taluq borders upon the Attur Taluq of the Salem district.

There is a Palayakara (Poligar) in each of the three Jagirs.

Aruja Goundar Jagir comprises	—	14 villages.
Kurumba Goundar Jagir comprises	—	42 villages,
Sadaya Goundar Jagir comprises	—	40 villages.
	Total	96

The Malayalies own allegiance to the Palayakara in whose jurisdiction they live. They are simple folk and their occupation is cultivation and collection of forest produce – Horns, gall-nuts and bark–for the contractors who take lease of the forests from the Palayakars.

They rarely come down to the plains. These hills are unsurveyed. The Malayalies pay a polltax of Rs. 1/8/- per married couple and annas twelve per unmarried adult per annum. Their total population in the 1931 census was 14,720. Their villages are scattered and communications are difficult. Malaria prevails.

In the Trichinopoly district, they are in the hill villages of Vannadu, Kombai and Tembaranadu on the Pachamalais in the Musiri taluq, and in Malayalapatti and Tondamandurai at the foot of the hills in the Perambalur taluq.

Those at the foot of the hills in the Perambalur taluq move freely with the people of the plains and are rapidly getting out of the primitive man's gullibility in his transactions with others. Malaria is endemic here also. The Malayali has got inured to it but it does affect him and is the cause of his lethargy and consequent backwardness.

The Malayalis here take the titles 'Kavandan' and 'Muppan.' Their main occupation is cultivation and they also work for the forest contractors. The Malayalies here easily get into debts. For small amounts they would mortgage their property and emigrate to Ceylon or Malaya. Their population, therefore is steadily falling as the figures below show :

1901	—	6,529
1911	—	5,573
1921	—	5,251
1931	—	4.241

CHENCHU

The name may be derived from Chunchu (சுஞ்சு) meaning forelocks. Chunchu Varu will apply to people with unbraided and grisly forelocks. A Chenchu cannot be described better. It is also

likely that in the past they gathered their hair on the forepart of the head like some hillmen still do. The name may also be a corruption of Chanchu (சஞ்சு) which is a suffix meaning 'renowned' or 'celebrated' or 'skilled in' as in Akshara Chanchu (அக்ஷர சஞ்சு) or Chara Chanchu (சார சஞ்சு). From the strategic place their homelands occupy the Chenchus may well have been the Charas = (சாரர் - ஒற்றர்) of the old kings of the south whose one preoccupation was the protection of the Krishna and Tungabhadra frontiers. These frontier scouts must have lost their occupation after the fall of the Pallava and the Chola empires. They may also have been the Kharas (கர தூஷணர்) of the Ramayana.

The chief habitat of the tribe is the Nallamalas of the Kurnool district. The Nallamalas extend northwards into the Nizam's Dominions. The Krishna cuts a gorge through it at Sree Sailam and Chenchus of the typical kind are found on the other side of the river also in the Nizam's Dominions. South of Sri Sailm traces of civilised life on these hills can be seen as far down as Ahobilam the the pride and solace of the tribe. Past Sree Sailam, the Krishna skirts along the Western borders of Markapur and Palnad Taluks. In the Markapur taluk the forests of the Mantrala, Erragondapalem and Ganjivaripalle areas towards the Krishna valley are inhabited by Chenchus who are typical of the tribe though differing slightly from the Western Chenchus in Nandikottur taluk. Relics of an ancient civilisation abound in these areas. Further north, where the Nallamalas slope down to the rugged Palnad taluk, the Chenchu has extended his habitat but he is more in contact with plainsmen there. Here is the site of the famous Nagarjuni Konda. What part the ancestors of the present day Chenchu played in that ancient civilisation is not yet known. In the adjacent Vinakonda and Sattanapalle taluks he is very much of a plainsman. Judging from his existence in the Nizam's dominions it is clear that the Chenchu land is the upper Krishna valley in the same way as the Koya has held to the upper Godavari. He affects the hills and forests very much and hardly comes down to the plains.

It is a matter for speculation whether the Chenchu had at any time anything in common with the Koya. Traditionally and even

otherwise, his connection with the Enadi of the plains has been recognised.

The Nallamalas are broken in the south by the pass leading from Proddatur to Badvel in Cuddapah district and the hills continue again under the name of Lankamalas east of Cuddapah taluk and further down south as the Rapur hills to the east of the Rajampet Taluk. These hills lead down to the Suvarnamukhi valley and end up in a small but high range of hills in the Puttur taluk of the Chittoor district called the Sadasiva Kona Hills. There are Chenchus at Sadasiva Kona but so disconnected from the Kurnool ones that they have no relationship with them. The process of the Chenchu evolving into an Enadi can be seen here; the Chenchu of the Sadasiva Kona changes into the Kappala Enadi when he first moves down into the Kalahasti or Puttur plain; gradually he merges with the Enadies and becomes one with them. A few generations ago the Chenchu of Sadasiva Kona carried bow and arrow. In the past, the Chenchu must have existed on the Lankamalas as also on the Veligondas which divide the Kurnool–Cuddapah districts from the coastal district of Nellore. They seem to have moved down into the coastal plains and become the numerous Enadi population of Nellore. Similarly the Chenchus of the Sadasiva Kona, Kambakkam and other hilly forests of the Karvetnagar area have descended down as the Enadies of Chittoor and the Irulars and Villars of Chingleput and further south. It is evident that the same tribe, as Irulars, had extended south-wards along the ghats through the North Arcot, and Salem districts, into the junction of the eastern and western ghats near about the Attappadi valley in the Southern slopes of the Nilgiris. It is likely that on the Javvadis, the Kolli Hills, Shevaroys, Pachamalais, he was supplanted by the Vellalas of Kanchi who inhabit these hills now and bear the name 'Malaiyalis' The North and South Arcot Irular seem to have come about this way. The Nilgiri Irula may be the one ousted from the Kolli hills.

The Enadi or Irula of the plains presents very different problems from the Chenchus. The Irula of Attappadi Valley and the Nilgiris has become an entity in himself. The Chenchu stands out as a

separate subject in the Kurnool district (Nandikotkur and Markapur taluks) and in the neighbouring Palnad area of Guntur district.

Population :	Kurnool	5878 — 2981 plus 2897	1941
	Guntur	2104 — 1096 plus 1008	
		7982	

Elsewhere in hundreds — totalling 9003.

Some Chenchus are returned from the Krisna, West Godavari, East Godavari and Vizagapatam districts also. These are evidently the Bonthuk Savaras mentioned below. It seems likely that those returned from Tenali, Bhimavaram, and Bezwada are Challa Enadies working in the Municipalities. There is a habit of calling Enadies, Chenchuvandlu.

Newill confused the Chenchu with the Bonthuk Savaras when he said that Chensus in Vizagapatam speak corrupt Hindi or Urdu.

Buchnan writing about Irulas said: "In this Hilly tract (Mysore, Canara and Malabar) there is a race of man called by the other natives 'Cad Eriligaru' but who call themselves 'Cad Chensu'. The language of the Chensus is a dialect of Tamil with occasionally a few Kannada or Telugu words but their accent is so different that at first my servants from Madras did not understand them. Their original country they say, is the Animalaya forest below the ghats, which is confirmed by their dialect". The 'Animalaya' referred to here is Annamalai — Tiruvannamalai - திருவண்ணாமலை.

In the census report of 1901, Irulars of North Arcot and the Mysore plateau returned themselves as Chenchu. In 1891, Chenchu is given as a sub-division of Yenadis. Mackenzie in the local records collected by him, speaks of Chenchus as Yanadi Chenchus. The Chenchus themselves say that they and the Yanadies are one and same and the tribes intermarry.

In Scott's 'Ferista', the Chenchus are described as they appeared before Prince Mahomed Masum son of Aurangazebe, as he passed through Kurnool in 1694 as " exceedingly black, with long hair and

on their head wore caps made of leaves. Each man had with him unbarbed arrows and a bow for hunting. They molest no one and live in caverns and under the shades of trees. The Prince gave them gold and silver but they were unconcerned at receiving it. On the report of a gun they darted to the mountains with a swiftness uncommon to man". It is commonly supposed that the Chenchus are a semi-wild, innocent, inoffensive hill tribe living on roots, honey, wild fruits and jams. It is not so. They are a semi-wild, lazy drinking set of brigands. They levy blackmail from every village along the foot of the hills, from pilgrims, from graziers on the hills. They repay moneys borrowed from Komaties with stolen timber and minor forest produce. They rob travellers and kill them if they resist.

In former times, the Chenchu headman usad to try murder cases and the murderer on proof of guilt was killed with the same weapons with which the murder was committed. In 1846, Captain Newbold observed a skull dangling in the forest near Pacharla which was that of a murderer and hill robber put to death by the headman. The practice appears to have been in vogue till the new Police was introduced in 1860.

Levy of tolls from pilgrims to Sree Sailam is now recognised by the Government. They are given certain rights in the forest. An old account about the Chenchus is interesting. "At Bairluti in the Kurnool district, a generous Englishman built a substantial stone dwelling in the depths of the great forest there, erected indigo vats, planted groves of choice mango, oranges and limes. He bought buffaloes. and by careful selection and breeding evolved a magnificent type. These buffaloes have now become entirely fruit-eaters and are engaged in seeking for and devouring the forest fruits which litter the ground in quantities — ippa and forest fig chiefly. The fruit eating imparts to their milk a peculiarly rich nutty flavour and the cream is abnormally rich. The western Chenchus now trade in ghee of this type and are more prosperous than others.

It is said that when a Chenchu wishes to express superlative admiration of a 'belle' he compares her to a monkey. "Agility", in

his eyes, is the supermost beauty of femininity. The girl who can shin up a lofty tree and bring him down fruit to eat is the acme of feminine perfection".

It is doubtful if these standards prevail now. A common belief exists that the Chenchu is a good marksman. The Chenchu is every bit as bad a shot as any average aboriginal. He makes up by his skill in woodcraft for his inexpertness with his gun.

The 'Chirra' Puli and the 'Chiruta' Puli are distinguished by the Chenchus. It is not clear whether two types of panthers exist.

The planting of the arrow to find out the 'abhijit muhurtam' (அபிஜித் முகூர்த்தம்) - or the noon, for a marriage is followed by the Chenchu as by the Enadi.

The degeneration of the Chenchu who claims even to-day the shrines of Sri Sailam and Ahobilam, whose daughter was coveted by Vishnu himself and in whose habitat, traces of civilised life including iron-smelting etc. are abundantly found can be explained only as a degeneration of Kurinji and Mullai into Palai in the manner described in part I. It is evident that these hills and forests have suffered from neglect.

In the wars that raged in these areas, the more martial Kurinji folk appear to have joined the armies and moved down far and wide in the plains. Such are the Boyas — who formed the soldiery of the Ballala and Vidyanagar empires. A Boya was sometimes called "Chenchu". Boya may be derived from Bhogya. When the men took service as soldiers, the women were evidently taking to domestic service of all types in the plains. The tradition among Boyas of dedicating some of their women for prostitution is noteworthy. The tribe compelled to find a place in the plains was probably prepared to yield this far to the plainsmen at the same time preserving family life for the bulk of the community. The word Boya is also said to be a corruption of Koya. One sept among Koyas is called Perumboyina. The beef-eating and other 'anacharas' of the Boya support this. After the wars, the Boyas settled down as agricultural labourers. Prominent soldiers among them were

apparently rewarded by the old rulers with small estates and we find an upper class among them called Pedda Boyas and a few Zamindars. The Boyas are seen only in the west of the hills in the districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur and Cuddapah. In the first two districts they are one of the major communities to-day; but they are a backward class of agricultural labourers. They join the police in large numbers and with their fine physique make excellent men in the Armed Reserves of the Police force.

The denudation of forests in the eastern slopes of the eastern ghats must have commenced in quite early times for the Chenchus of that area to deserve the title 'Eyinar'. In the east too, we find in the Nellore district, the Enadi took to domestic service more or less on Bhogya lines and has evolved a subsect called Manchi Enadies or "good Enadies". They have evidently had a great admixture of plainsmen's blood and no longer bear the characteristic Enadi looks.

While those who left the hills have fared as above, the stay at home Chenchu held to his seclusion unconcerned, as shown above, even about a Grand Mogal's visit. He could still exploit his forests and trade in its goods. But the chaos prevailing in the plains all around made his Kurinji and Mullai occupations unprofitable and even whilst living in the resourceful forests he turned to the Palai trade of brigandage. When the Government took the forests he considered it a definite usurpation and resisted through pillage and plunder until, as late as the thirteenth March 1929 when the last of the rebels Mandla Byga was shot dead at Tummalabylu. Through centuries of secluded hill life the Chenchu has become what he is and his very lands and forests have suffered from this neglect. The Chenchu has been curbed but his Palai ways still prevail. Those of Chintalamudipi have recently invited police attention by their depredations on Markapur town and its vicinity. But, his Palai way will not go, as long as the Nallamalais do not get restored as proper Mullai and Kurinji for the Chenchu and for others.

The problem of the Chenchu is the problem of the Nallamalas. It is true that two forest divisions are now exploiting the Nallamalas

but even so the Nallamalas may be said to be neglected. Many an area within the forests is fit for reclamation and colonisation. Small dams across hill streams can provide for irrigation of many fertile acres. The big Telugurayuni Cheruvu speaks to the memory of the famous "Telugu Raya" only by its name and the miserable Chenchu gudem at the place. The tank itself is in disrepair - which is not being beyond repair - and the once flourishing villages below it are overgrown with scrub jungle. They were deserted long ago.

The River Krishna itself is a potential source of energy for irrigation and for electricity. The northward bend taken by the river at Sri Sailam provides advantages from an engineering view point.

The Malaria is not a great menace here and can be eradicated more easily than elsewhere. When the interior is reclaimed colonies of agriculturists can flourish and great scope will exist for dairy farming and cattle breeding. The forest administration of course, should be rendered conformable to this and the forests conserved and exploited as the wealth of the rehabilitated Chenchu and the colonists. They are bound to flow in from the plains below as fast as the old ones deserted it.

Roads within the areas are not difficult of laying and electricity is bound to brighten up the tract. This is certainly a most important and strategic area lying waste with its potentialities all too underrated. Industrial possibilities are great here especially for cottage industries. Even the smelting of iron in cottage furnaces could be revived. The hills are rich in galena and other minerals.

Reference has been made above to the Bonthuk Savaras with whom the chenchus have been confused. These Bonthuks are scattered about the Krishna and Guntur districts. They lead a nomadic life carrying their small dwelling huts with them. They speak the Odiya language. They have the mongoloid features of the Savara. They are called Bonthuk Savaras to distinguish them from the Pathra or stone Savaras of the North. By Telugus they are called Chenchu or Bontha Chenchu though they have no connections with the Chenchu of Nallamalas. The Bonthuks however

claim Narasimha of Ahobilam as their tribal God. They have telugu house - names or intiperlu – e. g. Pasupuretti, Simhadri, Koneti, Dasapatri. Gedala. Kudumulas, Akula, Sunkara. They name their children after visiting officers or towns – e. g. Collector, Governor, Innes, Acharlu, Hyderabad, Bandar, Chennapatnam Nellore etc. This is because the child was born at the particular camp or when a particular officer visited their camp. A boy was named Tuyya (parrot) because a parrot was brought into the settlement when he was born. Another Beni because a flute was played at the time. The headman of a settlement is called Bichiadi. Their one occupation is collection of bamboo which they straighten by fire before selling. They marry their girls before puberty. They pay oli called in their corrupt Odiya, Oyila Tokka. They bury their dead laying the body on its left side.

ENADI AND IRULA.

The tribe has been referred to in the notes on Chenchus. The name Enadi, as has been shown in Chapter II, is a corruption of Einar – எயினர் –, the name by which the inhabitants of the Palai regions were distinguished in ancient times. The names Irulan, Villian, Vedan and Malayan are also used by the Tamil speaking members of this tribe. They inhabit the regions below the Eastern Ghats and along the coast from Guntur to South Arcot.

The characteristic features of an Enadi or Irula are prominent cheek bones, a pointed chin, scanty hair on the face and the body, a tendency to curls of the hair on the head and a platyrhine nose.

They are feeble in physique with soft and flabby muscles. A tradition has grown associating the Enadi with Pulicat Lake area as his original home. The most miserable sections of this tribe live in the jungles of Pulicat. They do some fishing. Based on this tradition, a suggestion has been made that the Enadis are negritos from the Malay Peninsula or Africa or Australia who were ship - wrecked on these shores. Even a connection with the Yanans of North California has been suggested. The Yanans are a north American tribe who differ from others in California in language and

appearance and have besides a tradition of having gone to California from East Asia. But the name 'Yaa – naan' is said to mean in their own language "people of the land". They are just a few in number – less than a hundred. The Yanan theory reminds one of "Lemuria". 'Lemuria' was the submerged continent which connected South India with America and Africa. It is interesting that in the Tamil Classics there is the tradition of the 'Deluge' submerging Tamil Nadu, south of Kanya Kumari (Comorin), which is always described in old Tamil books as a river – குமரியாறு. The more interesting fact in this connection is Sasta a strange deity worshipped in many Tamil villages. Huge earthern ware horses are familiar sights in the Ayyanar Koils of Tamil Nadu. The chief deity worshipped is Sasta.

In California, there is Mount Shasta which is connected with the deluge by tradition. Chattan is a version of Sasta apparently and has given birth to Saitan and Satan.

There is, however, no historical or literary evidence to support the theory that the Enadis were exotics in India. The "Boomerang" itself is said to be indigenous in India and exported to Australia from India.

The main homelands of this tribe are the modern Nellore, Chittoor, and Chingleput districts. More strictly, it may be restricted to the Kalahasti, Karvetnagar and Kambakkam hills and to the jungles of the Pulicat Lake. It is in this restricted area that you find the typical Enadi or Irula called Adavi Enadi. Further up in Nellore, their jungle characteristics got toned down gradually to two distinct and opposing types. The first is the 'Manchi Enadi' or the 'good' Enadi who through long domestic service in the homes of the upper classes have lost all the jungle characteristics. They are cooks and "Khasas" and even Brahmins and Reddis employ them. To-day, one can distinguish a "Nellore" type, irrespective of caste and the Manchi Enadi belongs to that type. The second is the miserable Challa Enadi who lives on the refuse of the table in Nellore and who also does scavenging work in Nellore Tenali and other municipalities. Adavi or jungle Enadis have

spread into the villages where they live in scattered huts in topes and fields as watchmen. Further north in the Godavari and Vizagapatam districts there are a scattered few of this tribe passing under the name of Nakkalas – the appellation indicating their snaring the jackal and eating its flesh. Of Adavi Enadies, a section eats frogs and are called Kappala Enadies. All these Enadis worship Chenchu Devata and in their ballads and dramas they call themselves Chenchus. The Enadis enact their own drama which is called Chenchu Nataka.

The sex life of the Enadi is similar to that of the Chenchu. They follow the same trick for findnig out the midday – the Abhijit muhurtam; only, not having the arrows of the Chenchu they plant a stick and watch for the disappearance of its shadow.

The Enadi will not eat beef, but is very fond of the field rat and fish.

The Adavi Enadis manufacture charcoal. To the south, of the Suvarnamukhi river where the Aruva Nadu of Tamil country begins the tribe extends under its Tamil name of Irula into Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot districts. The Irula has acquired some Tamil habits and would now disclaim connection with the Enadi. Chiefly, the Irula despises the frog eating of the Enadi and considers all Enadis inferior to themselves. They have a tradition that after the Yugapralayam or the deluge, Villiar or Irular, Vedar and Malayar who were all descendants of a Rishi under a curse were living in a nude state—men wearing skins and women stitched leaves — and eating roots, fruits and honey, A certain Mala Rishi, sometimes mentioned as Valmiki, took pity on them seeing their helplessness against wild beasts and lived with them for a time. He mixed freely with their women and several children were born. The Rishi advised them to worship 'Kanniamma' — the virgin goddess. Several other Rishis also lived ln their midst and were responsible for other new castes. The Enadi is one such caste. The original Irular were averse to taking cooked rice when gratuitously offered. The Enadi broke the rule, came to the plains, began eating cooked rice and imitating plains people. One can see

in this story the transition from a Kurinji and Mullai life to the life of a Palai. The section called Enadi were evidently the first to suffer from their Mullai degenerating into Palai and were, therefore, called Einar. The others who stuck to the hills and forests a while longer could look down upon them. To-day, however, Irula Villa, Veda or Malaya are in the same state as the Enadi. All of them are Einar.

In the Chenchu Nataka, Kannappa Nayanar and Enadi Nayanar, the Saiva Saints, are claimed by the Irulas as of their caste. In the Chenchu Nataka again, they claim Ekalayva of the Mahabharata also.

The Irular worship Kanniamma in addition to Chenchu Devi. The virgin goddess may be a form of Chenchita. Anyway, the single virgin has now been multiplied into seven virgins and the Sapta Kanyas are worshipped. The Kannimar worship is not unknown to other Tamil castes. Generally, the Kannimar temples are in forests near a stream. The Kannimar Odai or Virgins Brook near Salem is a popular resort for picnics.

The Kannimar are represented by oil lamps (earthen ware) placed under the Bandari plant which is sacred and the Irula will not let a pariah or an Enadi see them. He despises the Enadi so much as an outcaste.

The Irula and the Enadi, like the Kurumbar, find occasion for worship during tthe 'Choula' or first head shaving of children. On such occasions all children under 10 years of age are collected and the maternal uncle of each cuts off one lock of hair and ties it to the Ravi tree (Ficus Religiosa). Like the Kurumba, they worship their ancestors.

The Irula has the same partiality for rats as the Enadi.

Anthropometric measurements show a definite commonness among the Sholaga, the Irula of Nilgiris, the Irula of the East Coast and the Urali. The last two bear the signs of greater contact with plainsmen or the outside world.

Marriage among the Enadi-Irular is purely by mutual consent. The Ceremony is not indispensable although it is becoming fashionable

nowadays. Their code of morality is very low. A man may take several women at a time but a woman may take only one man at a time. Divorce is easy and frequent.

When a girl attains puberty, she is placed in a seperate hut erected then and there for eight days. A stick of the Nux vomica plant is placed inside the hut to ward off evil spirits. On the ninth day the girl bathes and is free from pollution. The hut is burnt down.

The pollution is observcd after child birth. For the first three days after delivery the mother is fed on the tender leaf of the date palm; later she is given rice. Margosa leaves and the knife used for cutting the umbilical cord are kept under the child's head for six days. A net is hung in the doorway of the hut to ward off evil spirits. The mother bathes on the 10th day.

The Enadis are soothsayers, like the Nilgiri Kurumban. The soothsayer goes through a training under experts. All castes once resorted to the Enadi soothsayer. The Enadi is fond of singing and he gives his predictions in songs.

The Enadis are good divers. They are keen on fishing. They are clever at catching cobras. They are fearless in this matter as also when they swing with the help of a rope of plaited bamboo some 200 foot from a precipice in order to gather honey. The honey collection by the Enadi is a very skilful affair. There is one interesting feature of this dangerous descent for the honey. The Enadi insists on his wife's brother being in charge of the rope on which he swings. We have seen that the Kadar of the Anamalais has an even better device for ensuring his safety. He carries the wife of the man on top with him in the swing.

The Irula, Villava, Veda or Enadi has a reputation for knowledge of some medicinal roots and herbs. In fact, the sooth sayer secures the confidence of his clients by holding burning cinders in his hands before he begins his oracular demonstrations. His ancestors, it is claimed, could put their hand into boiling rice and stir it. It is remarkable that in Sreeharikota which is notorious for elephantiasis the Enadi alone is free from it.

They generally bury their dead and their funeral rites resemble those of Hindus, Some cremate also – only a few. They worship other Hindu gods. They wear caste marks chiefly the Vaishnava *namam*.

This well known tribe is a huge one and may really number a few lakhs. Near the hills and jungles they are conspicuous as charcoal producers and forest coolies. They bear the marks that distinguish them from every other community. Their economic condition is deplorable and their ways are, therefore, primitive though socially they have a status and are a touchable caste. The census enumerators omitted them from the list of tribes since 1901. In 1881 and 1891, they were returned with totals of 66,099 and 88, 988 respectively. In 1941, Villians of Chingleput were mentioned as a tribe but only a small number was shown. The Villians are really thousands in number in Chingleput alone and the census figures are evidently a mistake. It is, however, gratifying that the tribe has got included under one of its sectional names. The Villiar Sanghams in the Chingleput district recognise the oneness of the Irula, Enadi, Veda and Villian and through their good offices the tribe shows signs of rising above sectional jealousies and making an united demand for recognition of their miserable condition by the Government.

The Government has not been unaware of the existence of this tribe. In their miserable Palai life, the Enadi easily become a tool in the hands of crime organisers from among the upper classes. The Enadi seeking the refuse of the table or a watcher's job in a field or a tope on a wage of Rs. 10/- per annum was only too easily tempted to steal, burgle and even dacoit when some upper class men put him on to it promising to feed him, his wife and children. If the Enadi went to jail, even then, his wife would be looked after. The process was similar to the one by which the Korava or Erukala became a criminal tribe with the difference that the Enadi lacked the skill of the Erukala and was always clumsy. In fact, the famished wretch would eat all the eatables in the house he burgles and defecate there and leave other signs of his handiwork which the police very soon learnt to classify as the Enadi mode. The Enadi confesses easily but often saves his patron, the receiver. The tribe was notified under the Criminal Tribes Act. They are notified under the names

Nakkalas and Enadies. But under the later name many Irulas and Villians also have been registered. In this matter, at least, the oneness of the tribe has been recognised.

Since the introduction of the Panchayat Scheme and the setting up of Palems, Enadi crime in the Chittoor district has nearly disappeared and this is influencing the neighbouring areas of Chingleput & Nellore also.

Large numbers of the tribe are no longer in a stage of transition. They have definitely become plainsmen and part of the main body of Hindus. It is so in the Nellore and Guntur districts. The Manchi Enadies of these districts are no more Einas. They are coveted domestic servants and have a place in society along with other Hindu castes. The Challa Enadi who eats anything and does scavenging is very much like a depressed class and will deserve to be treated as such.

The Enadies of Chittoor, the adjacent Venkatagiri forests, the neighbourhood of the Kambakkam hills in the Chingleput district, the Gudiyatham area of North Arcot, and the Gingee area of South Arcot are of the Adavi type and are still in a transitional stage. Similarly also are the Enadies of the Pulicat area and the Irulars who extend along the coast as far south as Porto Novo in the South Arcot district.

The Adavi type are already the subjects of the chittoor Enadi Reclamation scheme which was commenced in 1935. It is run by the police. It was also initiated by the police – a fact which may seem curious to persons who are not quite conversant with the Madras Police, its personnel and its methods with crime and criminals. It is not known to many that the criminal Tribes Act and its provisions were as "galling" to the police who had to administer it as to the social worker, politician or other sympathiser. Even in the twenties, the police who have greater knowledge of the environmental factors around the criminal tribe members began paying attention to it and attempts were made to instill a family sense, if not a tribal sense, into the members. Ideas of reclamation without internment in a settlement under Section 16 of the C. T. Act were conceived quite early and the present Siddhapuram settlement began that way. A tribe, notorious as the Donga Waddars, were invited to settle down

voluntarily on the fertile acres below the Siddhapuram tank in the Kurnool district. An Inspector of Police made it his life work. The voluntary settlement made a bid to become a model for rural reconstruction work. Agriculture prospered and cottage industries throve. In 1930, a great step towards reformation and ultimate emancipation was taken when the Police put the restrictive orders in abeyance in respect of members who showed promise of good behaviour. In 1935, in the district of Chittoor, a further step was taken–this was a large one–when the tribal self-respect was invoked through panchayats representative of a group of tribesmen There were thousands of members on the registers and the total population of the notified tribes in the district was some tens of thousands. A census was taken and a panchayat and a Nayak elected. The Nayak's office was recognized by the Police who spoke to the tribesmen through the Nayak and the Panchayatdars. The scheme succeeded. The Nayak came to be recognised as their spokesman by the tribesmen. The Lambadies had their natural Tandas, the Erukalas and others lived in villages but the Enadis were then living in a scattered way. They found it safe under the panchayat scheme to live near their Nayaks and soon in every panchayat unit the Enadies began asking for huts and sites for huts near to the Nayak. This facilitated the building of Palems. When the Palems came about – there were 182 by the middle of 1937 – the police had another problem and that was the finding of remunerative occupations for the Palem-folk. It was realised that the Enadies were children of the forest and, forests, there-fore, suggested themselves as one natural resource that may be availed of. Attempts were made to do Kumri cultivation (shifting) in the forests not in the destructive tribal way but agreeably with forest regeneration. Zamindars were approached and lands for cultivation secured. A minimum of 200 acres per Palem was secured where lands were available. In a Palem called Jayanti, 1,200 acres were secured and in Melachur 500 acres. Jayanti, in 1941, produced paddy, cholam, ragi, chillies and tobacco. Charcoal burning, the traditional occupation of the Enadies, was taken up. The contractors who had been paying the Enadi were eliminated. Schools were started; and carding, spinning and weaving introduced. The Enadi carding and spinning attained

a great standard The A. I. S. A., Andhra, had helped in this. The Enadi weavers at Kalahasti earned good wages.

Like most good things, the scheme appears to have languished, partly due to pre-occupation in other matters on the part of local officers and partly due to a feeling among some police officers that the working of the scheme is outside the province of normal police work. Policemen who hold this view are giving up their own case. The Police of a land should be the supremest; nation-building agency. The City Superintendent of Police an ancient Hindu drama was called a Nagaraka from which Nagarakata, meaning civilisation comes.

However, the plight of the Enadies of Chittoor under the reclamation scheme is a sorry one. The foundations are there and are strong but only the foundations remain. The industries including charcoal burning have decayed. The Charkhas are plied only by a few. The lands allotted by the Zamindars have not yet been brought under the plough completely and the Zamindars are rightly grumbling about it. They assigned the lands to Enadies on easy terms in preference to villagers. They expected the lands to be cultivated and to pay them the agreed rents.

In the year just passing there has been a revival of interest in in the Enadi reclamation on the part of the District Police who have unfortunately and quite surprisingly been greatly discouraged by almost every one of their proposals being turned down by the Government.

A remedy of the present state of affairs is urgently needed.

Firstly, the lands assigned may be acquired by Government.

Secondly. The spinning and weaving should be revived.

Thirdly, the Forest department should allot coupes to the Enadies through the Nayaks or the Reclamation Officer.

Fourthly. several proposals for wells, schools, etc. made by the District Superintendent of Police, Chittoor, in the past year have

been turned down as 'absolutely' non-essential. They should all be re-examined.

For the rest, the measures suggested for this tribe as a whole as well as other tribes similarly placed will be detailed later.

The Chittoor Enadi Scheme may be extended to Chingleput, North Arcot, South Arcot and also such Adavi Enadies as there are in Guntur and Nellore districts.

The Pulicat Enadies present a problem of their own. The one curse they suffer from is the Malaria against whieh measures must be taken at once. There is scope here and along the coast line down to Porto Novo for acquiring lands where the Enadies may grow casuarina. In fact they now work as coolies in these plantations. It is a paying occupation and will suit the Enadi very much- As a cooly he is poorly paid. Cashew nut can also be grown.

Fishing in the Pulicat lake is of great potentialities.

KORAVA

This tribe is also called Koracha and Erukala in the Telugu districts. In the Tamil districts the name is Korava but it is considered by many that Kurava is the name. The 'R' is the trilled or the second of the two 'Rs' in the Tamil alphabet i.e. (குறவர்).

As has been said in Part I, Kuravar or Kunravar is the name by which the Kurunilam folk or hill people were called. The Kurava tradition connects them with Muruga, the Tamil hero god, through Valli. a Kurava girl whom he married, Muruga is the god of the hills and his temples are usually on the hills. In the Telugu country, where Vaishanavaism has greater vogue, the hill shrines are generally those of Narasimha. The Korachas and Erukalas associate themselves with Narasimha.

In ancient days there appears to have existed a Koranadu and a Koramandala. Koranadu sarees (கோரநாட்டுச்சேலை) are known to have been fashionable wear among Tamil ladies. Coromandel Coast is, perhaps, Koramandala Coast only. Korva is the name of

one of the hill tribes in Central Provinces. There is also a place called Korea in upper India. The distant Korea or Cho-Sen in East Asia till recently under the heels of Imperial Japan is not too far to be thought of when we talk of this tribe. The Koreans, living as they do in the midst of Mongoloid peoples, ruled and oppressed by them for centuries, are yet different from them. In features, in character and in their speech, they are different from the Chinese, Japanese and Manchurians. And, looking at a picture of Koreans, one cannot help being struck by the Hindu features that are strikingly apparent in spite of the dress and other settings of a very different character.

It remains to mention the possible connection with 'Kora' meaning the sun. The Sun-religion had a high place in the east coast and in Tamil Nad in ancient days. The Sun temple at Konarak, 50 miles east of Puri in Orissa, is a monument of a highly civilised community of Sun worshippers. Konarak (குண + அர்க்) Kuna—Arka or the Sun of the east-rising Sun-had the sun's temple and the provinces around seem to have borne the names of the signs of the Zodiac. Some of these names have survived even now in Chaitra-pura, Visakha-patna, Mithuna-pura, Kataka and Simha-Bhumi.

Whether they were Koravas or Kuravas this tribe appears to have been once in a prosperous sttae. That a Nadu and a Mandala are named after them shows they might have been politically important too. They were carriers of trade busily moving with their donkeys between the Coasts and the interiors. They acquired sect names according to the commodity they traded in. Their peregrinations gave them great knowledge of the several cities, towns and villages, and their trades gave them access to people of all classes and types. This seems to have been availed of by the rulers of the day and the Koravas were employed as an intelligence Corps. The name Erukala that the Telugu section of the tribe bear, is attributable to this. 'Eruka' in Telugu means knowledge. Even in Tamil the word 'Kuru' means to tell and Kuruvan கூறுவான் may have become Kuravan. Later on, Tippu Sultan of Mysore engaged

them in his Espionage Corps. For his own purposes he trained them to pilfer in the enemy's camps and rob them on the routes. The Kurava with his disciplined caste organisation was able to systematise his criminality. Thereafter when with the advent of modern transport facilities and trade systems, the Koravas' traditional occupations were gone, he resorted to thieving and robbing which is a fine art with him, studied as such from childhood.

The Koravas or Erukalas talk a dialect of Tamil and are ethnically cousins of Tamils and Telugus of the plains though some writers have tried to class them as aborginals.

The Koravas have been notified as criminal tribes under various names in the several districts. Their skill in burglaries, their daring in dacoities and the consummate manner in which they organise crimes through the length and breadth of the country are well known. Hardy, industrious and intelligent, they applied all their talent and energy to a life of criminality. But, it must be noted that the profits of their biggest hauls and greatest plunders went to enrich others only. The Korava was a mere tool. His was an organised community that had been reduced to live on its wits and compelled to wait on some patron of the villages and towns. It was a period in the country's history when rural economy was struggling to adjust itself to modernism. The Korava was a free element in this flux, but an element that would not easily coaleasce or combine with others. At the same time owing to kinship of language and race he could not stand out altogether like the Lambadi. He sought patrons in the villages among the tyrants and anti - social elements of that period who were themselves only victims of circumstances in this historic transition. The Korava used to the open air and the freedom of the trade routes chose the free booters' life which the patron helped owing to his own impotent strivings towards power. What is called the 'Poligar Spirit' prevailed.

The Korava was notified quite early under the Criminal Tribes Act. The severest provisions of the Act were applied to him. They were removed in thousands from their homelands in Rayala-

seema and interned in settlements in the Nellore and Guntur districts. The American Baptist Mission and the Salvation Army undertook the management of the Kavali, Sitanagaram and Stuartpuram settlements. There was not available, at that time, a single Hindu Society to undertake the task. At Kavali thousands perished in a few years behind the barbed wires. From there and from Sitanagaram, gangs of them would break out, march along the old familiar routes known to policemen as the Erukala Batas — (Bata — route) to their ancestral homes where an erstwhile patron or a patron of their deceased ancestors would welcome them — however clandestinely. They would hide in a neighbouring hill or jungle until the police got scent and pursued them. They would in the meanwhile visit the tombs of their ancestors and perform Shradh. The settlement meanwhile would have telegraphed the usual out of view list and the Korava would know that the chase is on through every district he traverses. He is however, thankful for the brief freedom and grateful to those in the villages that have shown kindness. He would express the gratitude by a few burglaries and dacoities. These would sometimes be directed against the enemies of his parton. Invariably the proceeds will go to the ones that had shown hospitality. The hosts, in course of time, would develop a taste for them and gradually learn to harbour the Korava with this motive only. Often, the Korava would be the honoured guest and enjoy privileges even with the womenfolk. But the age of dacoities was ended with the advent of bus transport. Rural economy, too, had got settled – Social values even in villages came to be determined on the Gandhian lines. The bright one of the village would not be a tyrant any more; he would wear khaddar and go to jail. The Korava too changed. The new creed ensnared him too and in Stuartpuram where the Salvation Army had proselytised for 40 years, the revolt began; and, it was the revolt of peace. Erukala youths preached Gandhism for which the management punished them. They formed an Erukala Sangham and are editing a paper entitled 'Erukala'.

The tribe has come into its own. Naturally intelligent, gifted with a remarkable adaptability, they are fit to take their place with the main body of our population.

But they need help and such help as a penitent wrong doer owes the wronged. The Korava must have land. He must have education given him free for another generation.

Emancipation from the Criminal Tribes Act is deserved and due in the present state of the tribe and the conditions prevalent in the province. But the freedom will be worthless and may even be dangerous if the Korava is not adeuately provided for settling down as a good citizen. A settler in Sitanagaram seemed very sad when he heard the chairman of the Committee proclaim that the Criminal Tribes Act will be abolished. Almost in tears, he asked, "What is to become of us then?" In the settlements, they have some possessions too – some of them; their fear is that with the abolition of the Criminal Tribes Act, the settlement will be wound up and they sent out to live on their wits again in the wide world. The tribesmen honestly feel that they will not have their emancipation on such terms.

At Sitanagaram and Stuartpuram which are Erukala settlements many families can settle down on land. At Sitanagaram the quarries provide a substantial subsidiary income. At Stuartpuram about 800 acres of land have already been assigned. Erukala villages have come up here. There is much more land available and irrigational facilities are available and can be extended.

Round about Kavali and Bitragunta vast tracts of land are available and Erukala colonies can be established here. The Erukalas really belong to Rayalaseema but several generations have been born in these eastern districts since their transportation from their homelands into the settlements. They have got accustomed to these areas; to the language and the manners. They now prefer to remain where they are.

In the West, the Korachas who had gone back to their homelands on release from settlements survive in small numbers in several places. In some cases their lands have been taken away during their stay in the settlements. Restoration must be done in such cases. In the case of others, lands must be provided afresh now. In the Tanakal area of the Anantapur district there is a regular clamour for lands: Land is available almost everywhere, but in the first three or four years, the Korava must be helped with bulls, implements, seed etc.,

LAMBADI

This tribe is seen in all the upland areas in the Telugu and Kannada provinces. They are known also as Sugali and Banjari. The three names Lambadi, Sugali, and Banjari are derived respectively from Labana = Salt, Su-gwala meaning good cowherd and Banijar meaning traders from Vanijya. வாணிஜ்யம், வாணிபம். They are also sometimes called Gohurs but this is not a common name. The Banjari division of this tribe living in the Nizam's Dominions is called Vadatya or Northern division. They are divided into four main classes. These are the Vadatya above mentioned, and Chavan Panchar and Bhutya classes. The last three were descendants of three sons of an ancestor called Mola who with his brother Mota was a descendant of Sugriva of the Ramayana. Mota's progeny became the Laban, Gurjera and Marwardi clans. There are Gotrams within each of the four classes and the names of Gotras in the Vadatya class show that they were later imigrants from Central India-Eg. Ajmaira. These classes intermarry with one another and a feud between the Vadatyas and Bhutyas is now forgotten.

The Bhutyas are the principal class in Rayalaseema where this tribe exists in large numbers.

All these come under the generic term Lambadi. They speak a dialect of the Cutchi group of languages. It is a facile language and sounds well in spite of the inevitable admixture of Kannada, Telugu and Tamil words. 'Vada' in Vadatya is tamil meaning 'North'.

In the olden days this tribe was engaged in carrying trade. The Lambadis were carrying salt from the coast and grains from inland. The Banijars carried other goods of commerce. The Sugalis settled down in suitable pastures on these routes and bred the cattle that served as pack bullocks for the tribe. Their trade was destroyed with the introduction of modern means of transport. The Lambadi is now trying to settle down to cultivation but there is not much good land where he stays. During the transition from a pastoral life and a life as intinerant traders to agriculture and other means of livelihood, the Lambadi took to crime too and in some districts came to be notified under the Criminal Tribes Act.

The Lambadis are a strong and virile race. The men have adopted the regional dress of Kannadi or Telugu but the women retain their picturesque garments in the making of which they spend a lot of time and energy. They also wear various jewels characteristic of the tribe, the horn bangles, the peculiar shaped anklets and the gurikis. Reformers have attempted to make the Lambadi woman give up her heavy unwashable dress and take to the ordinary Sadi. They have met with little success. It seems unwise to intertere with it on moral as well as aesthetic grounds.

The sex life among Lambadis is healthy. They have a high code of morality. Widows cannot remarrv but may live with anyone. No illegitimacy attaches to the children of such unions. Before the widow contracts such union, her children, if any, are separately provided for by a gift of buffaloes etc. The Lambadi woman is never sick or sorry. She is hard working, strong, always bold and cheerful. They sing and dance most prettily. The songs are in their language and in praise of Krishna, the lord of cows.

They always live in villages of their own which they call Tanda–தாண்டா. They do not mix with other communities.

They are good with their cattle. At Panem they actually breed good cattle now. They generally bring the cattle of the plains up to the hills for grazing during the off season. They are said to be quite honest in this business and receive a fair remuneration from the plainsmen.

The Lambadis are growing keen on education. In Bellary and Chittoor they are asking for schools. Some educated Lambadis of Bellary have undertaken great social work among their kinsmen, and an awakening is noticeable. In and around Madanapalle, efforts of socialogists and sympathisers have done some good.

The problem of the Lambadi can be stated as under:

1. They have an aptitude for agriculture and want lands for cultivation.

2. They are a pasrotal community and require pastures and other facilities towards remunerative dairy-farming and cattle breeding.

3. Education–The children must be taught in their language. It is now an unwritten language but it is possible to write it in the Nagari or Telugu script and text books for primary schools can be prepared. It is a language which deserves to be preserved.

4. They have a weakness for arraq which they always manage to distil illicitly.

KALLAR AND MARAVAR

These two tribes of the south are notified under the Criminal Tribes Act. They belong to a group of three very proud communities in Tamil Nad who style themselves as the 'Mukkulattar' or the 'three clans'. The three are Kallar, Maravar and Agambadiyar.

Rajas and Zamindars belonging to these clans exist. There have also been scholars and saints among them. These tribesmen resent being called aborigines.

Reference has been made to the name Marava along, with Eina in Part I. Verily, the land of the Maravas today is a Palai and appears to have been so for quite some centuries. The Kallar traditions trace them from the Pallavas – the Kurumborais and the Tondral, described in Part I. and under Kurumbas. The Kallar has been connected with the Kurumba too.

Various accounts of these tribes have been written and the tribes are so well known and so much in the midst of plainsmen to-day that an account of their customs and manners will be redundant here. The facts to be noted for our purposes are:

(1) that these are virile communities endowed with some conspicuous martial traits;

(2) they are found in large numbers in certain taluks of the Madura and Ramnad districts: The Kallars are 36% of the population of Tirumangalam taluk: 20% in Periakulam, 18% in Dindigul, 12% in Nilakota and 10% in Palani. The Maravar predominate in the Ramnad district, especially in the Mudukalattur taluk.

(3) The areas they occupy are more or less of the Palai variety.

(4) They havc been notorious for the Palai mode of living–robbery and thefts.

With an improvement in irrigational facilities resulting naturally in a reclamation of the Palai, the Melur taluk Kallars are reported to have settled down as good ryots. But in the other areas which have not been as fortunate, the Kallar crime has gone on unabated. The application of the Criminal Tribes Act to batch after batch since 1914, has not reclaimed them. Nor, has the immense expenditure of money and the energies of huge police and other staffs to educate the Kallar through schools and co-operative societies been of any avail. The "Bee-keeping instructors" and "poultry farms" could not make the Kallar Nadu flow with milk and honey. An attempt with textile weaving was a similar failure. The rural credit societies have only resulted in the Kallars' lands being encumbered to an extent of 9 lakhs of rupees in the Tirumangalam taluk alone – at an average of Rs. 100/– per acre.

There cannot be a clearer case to show that all attempts at "reclaiming" a tribe or community must be futile if the land they live on is not reclaimed beforehand. This point is very important in the immediate present. There is a proposal to extend the Periyar poject to the Tirumangalam taluk. This should be taken up at once. The only remedy is the conversion of these Palai regions into Marudam like in Melur and Tirumangalam or into Mullai.

In the course of reclamation work under the Criminal Tribes Act, Kallar panchayats were set up but the panchayats were merely agencies for helping the Police in controlling Kallar crime. The Kallar and the other public would have been the gainers had the panchayats been charged with more than the informer's task. The panchayats may now be availed of in the reconstruction of the Kallar and Maravar villages in a scheme of reclamation of all their lands.

A number of Co-opertive Societies exist and they are almost all only Credit societies. There are as many as 267 societies on paper-most of them being defunct or dormant. Some sales and labour societies are reported to be faring better.

A Kallar common fund has been a success with a lakh of rupees made up from donations by Kallars. It is administered by an elected Committee with three Superintendents of Police and a Deputy Superintendent as ex - officio office bearers. It really means that these officials are running it; it is, however, a good amount and may be useful for a future Kallar bank.

There are 256 Elementary Schools with nearly 15.000 pupils maintained for Kallars alone. Some 1,500 pupils are receiving higher education as boarders in various institutions. There are boarding homes for Kallars at Usilampatti and Melur. The Boy Scout movement has been introduced.

The Kallars do not take to agriculture kindly. They love cattle; in fact, their cattle lifting itself may be an indication of their respect for cattle. This feature rather agrees with their Pallava origin. Cattle breeding and dairy farming will probably be the most suitable occupation for them. There is a vast acreage of cultivable waste and more of the non – cultivable in the district. Regeneration of these areas into pastures and forests – into Mullai– will be useful in more ways than one. In the Tirumangalam taluk alone there are some 11,000 acres of cultivable waste which is mostly black cotton soil. Cotton and groundnut will grow well here and the soil may not lend itself to conversion into pastures. But fodder – Cholam can be grown.

It is often said that with the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act, Kallar Crime will grow unchecked. But the fact is that Kallar Crime continued to be high even when the Criminal Tribes Act was applied to them and even after the schools, co – operative societies and bee – keeping instructors. Recently, there have been signs of deterioration ; attendance at schools has gone down ; co - operative dues are recoverable only with difficulty and Kallar Crime shows a tendency to increase. It is evident that the Kallar resents both the Criminal Tribes Act and the cossetting attempted to be done through the huge doles of the Kallar Reclamation Scheme. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches ; if he does not, he at least can know whether the remedy has relieved him of the undefined

pain. In this, the Kallar alone knows whether schools etc. have relieved him of the need or the propensity for committing crimes. His answer being what it is, it is clear that the Kallar problem lies elsewhere than in the lack of elementary schools and short term credit. The educated few of the communities are now striving to reclaim their communities.

The difference between the Kallar of Madura - Ramnad and the Kallar of Tanjore is noteworthy. The latter is a good ryot; even the Kurumborai could become a ryot in the Cauvery delta. But those who went further south after Adondai's destruction of the Pallava kingdoms came upon land that was decaying into Palai. They earned the name Maravar and if they are to be reclaimed, it will be not the Criminal Tribes Act or other penal enactments, nor even the schools and co - operative societies that will achieve it, but a reclamation of these huge tracts of Pandya Nadu and their conversion into forests and pastures where the cowherds may worship their Vishnu and play the flute. It is significant that though the Kallar are Saivas, their favourite deities, the Kal-Alagar, Kattu - Alagar etc. all represent Vishnu.

PART III.

THE PROBLEM.

In the previous chapters enough has been said to show that the tribes are no other than sections of the Hindus dwelling on the hills and mountains as per the old Hindu economic order, albeit, some of them had been forced up into the hills by political upheavals. The hillmen of the olden days were evidently masters of their soil and self-governing communities furthering and exploiting the resources of the hills and forests, for the benefit of the country as a whole. Such exploitation must have been remunerative and worthwhile for the large communities who have left their traces in these hills and forests, as long as the old Hindu order existed. The economic interdependence between the hills and plains served to maintain social contacts and thereby cultural affinities between the two classes. Culture developed to a high degree on the hills and Hindu civilisation flourished equally well in the Kurinji and Mullai with the Marudam or Neidal. Sri Krishna himself was a child of the Mullai, Muruga fell in love with a girl of the Kurinji. Often times when the Marudam fell into confusion politically, the Mullai folk came down to restore Hindu order as in the case of the Ballava or Pallava cow-herds. It is again in the Kurinji and Mullai that Hinduism ultimately defended itself unto survival from Hampi and Satara when it had all but perished in the Indo–Gangetic plains. With the gradual decay of Hindu Raj and culture the hills and forests lost their value. It was in vain that Tipu Sultan of Mysore attempted to restore the Mullai and Kurinji. He and his kind had killed the goose already and the golden egg was not to be expected. He had not timber enough for the navy he wished to build. His father had better results on the Mullai lines and bred the famous cattle of the Hallikere and Amrit Mahal breeds. The hills were deserted by many who sought the plains, only, to find themselves too far behind the plainsmen in knowledge, culture and power of the new kind. Some of them were forced to live on the refuse of the plainsmen's kitchens like the Challa Enadi and others as an alternative to thieving, slaving or prostitution.

Those that remained on the hills retained their independence and their self-respect, although, the breaking of the contact with plainsmcn during the dark ages deprived them of the cultural affinities with the plainsmen, the only means they had of keeping up their own culture. No more would an Avvai visit an *Aay* of the hills and no more a Srinatha sing the praises of hill chiefs and be remunerated by them. They gradually fell into ignorance; poverty was soon to follow, for, the market of the plains were shut to them. The greatest disaster overtook them, however, when the new law and order made them slaves in their own dominions. They were no more masters and, however ignorant, and poor the tribesmen were, their self-respect was wounded by this. There was ignorance of the tribesmen on the part of the administrators too. Fed with stories by missionaries, sight-seers and pseudo-anthropologists, the Government looked upon them as savages belonging to some submerged race or races. The Hindu of the plains who might have been in a position to advise, was either ignorant himself or unable to counter the assertions of these " new scientists ". In some cases he seems to have found acquiescence in this treatment of the hillmen profitable to himself.

The tribes resisted and were crushed. Let us take the instance of the Konda Reddi. Had the permanent settlement been taken up just a yeaɹ or two earlier, the Reddi would have been the Zamindar in that area. Through gradual impoverishment and losing their lands to the Velama, the once influential Reddi had taken to the hills with their produce, as his only resort. And even here he was to be dispossessed. He turned and turned at bay only. Sambayya, Chandra Reddi Ambul Reddi and others were martyrs to a cause which was not then understood. Even now the ignorance persists or passes for knowledge on the strength of racy accounts by foreign journalists and story tellers; the tribes including the Reddi himself are called aboriginals. The very compassionate and tearful patronage which these scientists show to these last soldiers of Hindu independence is often suspected to be a veiled attempt to justify the crushing of the hillmen and robbing them of their all. The patronage proffered consists of de-Hinduising these heroes who fought

in the name of Virabhadra, sang the songs of Muralidhara and perished for the freedom that Manu and his followers had assured them of.

It is time we correct our notions about these tribes and alter our attitude.

I have thus far emphasised the historical, background in which these tribes may be seen. In the notes on the tribes some anthropological materials have been given in a form which is quite non-technical. In the result we see that through historical cataclysms during some 50 centuries, there has been in our hoary land so much breaking-up and again so much building-up. It is here that anthropology must help and can help. In the land of the Vedas, in the very Kurunji and Mullai where the Rishis had their asrams, values changed. The historical background helps us to understand how our society lost its equilibrium at what stages in our history a break up had happened, and which bit of the grand mosaic of Hindu society represents a particular stage. History can give mere landmarks. Anthropology can avail of these landmarks and go a little further and study the various cultural levels at the various stages of break up. Here again uniform patterns are not to be expected. A section that broke off from the main body at a particular stage may either develop on its own to a higher level or remain stationary or even perform a 'go back' to a more primitive condition. This will again depend on facts and circumstances which history can establish. For example, the Reddi of the Godavari Valley merely became static at one stage. He resented greatly when, even in his quiet seclusions, he would not be left alone; he rebelled and was worsted. Thereafter, he could not even stay at the level in which he was; he went back. The Toda, discarding the bow and arrow and committing himself to a pastoral life of a primitive kind, the general disarmament on the Nilgiris which has affected even the Kurumba who has to do with the bison and the tiger, the fondness with which the Kurichan clings to his bow and arrow stage, the Sun-worshipping Kui, with a Konarak to his credit, lapsing into superstition about the Earth Goddess, in fact almost every fact about every tribe can be connected with some historical

period or event. But, what will yet remain will be to face the facts and examine how far these forgotten tribes are static or dynamic, whether they are so by their own choice, whether at the stage of development in which we see them to-day, they are integrated like the Koya, Kurichan, Kadan, Toda, etc. or whether their society is disintegrating like the Enadi – Irula, Bagata or Kui.

An integrated tribal society is likely to have tribal institutions pursuing certain values in life. On the other hand, a disintegrating tribe may have suffered the demolition of such institutions owing to environmental, reasons or lack of proper values or through vandalism by others. A study of these tribes will be useful to them and to us, only, if we can recognise the degree of integration prevailing and the ideals around which the tribal institutions achieve that intergration. That with primitive ways and barbarous habits many of these tribes are yet in a stable condition–in fact, more so than we of the plains are today should interest us. Their leafy garments, their cheerful dances and their innocent readiness to be acquiescing and agreeable are all quite pleasant as a holiday affair but these are really not of the essence of the tribesmen's lives. How they achieve this stability or rather, how they look upon life and what machinery as a socicty they have, to attain their values in life are the proper subjects for study. Knowing these we may venture upon a re-approach to them and see how far they may through their institutions be fitted into our new order. We may also learn from a study of the disintegrated or disintegrating ones, how and why they lost their stability ? It is often contact with us that has done this. If so, the propriety of our intefering with them is questionable. But are they to be left alone ? We simply cannot do it. Firstly because, the homelands of these tribes contain the bulk of the natural resources of the country ; and, secondly because, we have already interfered with them actively and done it all the wrong way

The Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Tribes Committee of Bombay (March 1930) held the view that the isolation of the tribes from the main body of the nation gave occasion for the aboriginal problem. We have seen the historical contexts in which this isolation was brought about. But the real gloomy fact is that even

today the plainsmen has not thought of remedying this and reviving the lost fraternal bonds. The tribesmen may have expected the return of the "prodigal" through years of misery and want but, when the runaway brother returned, he came, not for re-union but for a share of the wealth of the forest and hills; and, he came alongside the powerful Britisher as his agent, clerk and policemen; he came for the crumbs when the powerful ones took the tribesmen's bread away. The tribes are weak and voiceless and have to swallow their pride, if any of it yet remains, and submit.

It has been pointed out by many writers that the contacts with Hindus have led to a degeneration of the tribes. Mr. Symington I. C. S., the Special Inquiry Officer, appointed by the Government of Bombay in 1938, says "actually the problem of the aboriginal and hill tribes lies, not in their isolation from but in their contacts with the main body of the community. Where their geographical position keeps them beyond the reach of the outside world, as in the Akrani Mahal, they are happy and independent; but in the places, now all too many, where they are in constant contact with more educated people, they are degraded, timid, and exploited" There is great truth in the above statement. But, some writers have mis-stated the point when they characterise the evils mentioned by Mr. Symington as the result of "Hinduisation" of the tribes. They would, therefore, preserve the isolation and, if possible, restore the partially 'corrupted' ones also to such isolation. Some of these writers have even indulged in exaggerated accounts of the evils of what they call "Hinduisation". Often, in a sentimental weakness for the spectacular and the beautiful in the barbarous state, they protest against even a desirable promotion to better living which is all that Hindu contact need and will bring about.

The real position however, is that the so called Hindu contact is itself a myth. Firstly, it was the case of a Hindu meeting a Hindu when he had lost sight of. We may compare it to a Punjabi meeting a Bengali or a Sindhi trading in Madras. Secondly, when the contacts were revived under British rule, Hindu society itself was in a melting pot. A new law and new system of administration was puzzling the Hindu and uprooting the foundations of his society;

a new learning was questioning his very fundamental thoughts, destroying his sturdy independence and giving hin an inferiority complex. The flexibility of the Hindu social code was affected by the introduction of a so called Hindu Law compiled out of rulings of a Privy Council at London and administrated by English judges to whom orthodox Pandits would explain the two schools of Visistadvaitic thought only through two strange algebraic Symbols — U and Y. Contrast this with a discussion between Appayya and Tataçharya presided over by the Raya of Chandragiri! It was a degenerate age, certainly, when Hindu Pandits played for their bread-their material possessions - with quotation from Sankara and Ramanuja, Manu and Yajnavalkya. But be it said to the credit of the Privy Council, that they evolved an orderliness out of the chaos of misquotations by pettifogging factionists. It is this degenarate Hindu that followed the British conquerors and missionaries into Koya Nadu and Bagata Nadu, into the Nilgiris and Anamalais. It has been stated by some writers "the common law of the land is in many ways highly unsuitable for tribal areas". It has to be questioned whether it had ever been the *Common Law*, and whether the Hindu himself had not been a victim of an exploitation which has now come to be called the common law. Mr. Symington refers to the strange pond of Hindu Society in which the socalled aborigines fail to swim and sink. I would say that the Hindu was thrown into a strange pond; he has managed to swim ashore and even to cut the channels for draining the strange element out; having done this for himself, he should now make a fresh approach to his kinsmen of the hills-an approach other than the invitation to the cool of the pond.

The tribes too have survived, in their own way, though they had to contend against the callousness of governments as well as acquisitiveness of European planters and their Hindu henchmen.

Contact, we know, is inevitable and will now even be desirable since the Hindu has realised himself. The advocates of "isolation", are rather late on the scene having arrived after the Hillmen had gone through the worst. They are late by a century in regard to the Konda Reddi, the Koya, the Toda and others.

The view that the tribes should be secluded in special "parks" erected for them may be straightaway dismissed as unscientific and impractical, and a misunderstanding of caste and confusing it with "varna". It is not realised by many foreigners that Hindu castes themselves are tribal in matters of worship, food, dress etc. A tribal people have no difficulty whatsoever in being good Hindus whilst they retain their own internal organisations. for all their purposes. In fact. even in the villages and towns of the plains, you find one Hindu caste controlling its own affairs in a manner contrary to what obtains with another caste. Remarriage of widows, divorce, women's right to property, etc. have been and are in vogue among many castes and reformers, fed on English writings or alarmed by the Missionaries' jibes, have made and are still making noises which are unseemly and avoidable.

Be that as it may, tribal solidarity can never get destroyed by mere contact with Hindus ; it only changes into caste solidarity. In fact, the Hindu mind does not differentitate between a caste and a tribe. In practice, we see the different tribes treated as different castes only.

It is highly incorrect to say that in any intercoures between the tribes and the main body the tribesman gets a lowly status. Even the beef-eating Gadaba and Khond and the rat-eating Enadi-Irula are not untouchables. They are high caste. The Reddi is a high caste and actually marries into Kapus of the plains. The Konda Dora is treated as one with other Kapus in Vizag. Writers have chosen to call this "assimilation" by the Hindu, which, again, is incorrect and unhappy. It is just the revival of a concourse which accidents of history had split up. Hinduism is not any one defined pattern. As described already Hindu society is a mosaic wherein there is room for any colours and designs new or old.

I have referred to the "common law" that tried to drown the Hindu. That same commom law invaded the tribesmen's possessions but fortunately it has not yet destroyed tribal solidarity. The awakened Hindu who has the Law in his own hands now, must now restore the tribesmen's possessions to them and ensure their

solidarity, be it called a Hindu caste only. He should also remember that caste solidarity was and should always be in conformity with village solidarity or the sense of corporate life of a village. It is the corporate life of the village that got destroyed by the "common law" in the plains. On the inaccessible hills, however, tribal solidarity has preserved this corporate sense and this must be borne in mind and availed of in any measure calculated to enable the tribes to become equal sharers and collaborators with us in the social and political life of the country.

We must, then approach the tribes with respect and not as patrons; they have got on without us and, in some respects, fared better. We must shed the philanthropist attitude of doling out food, drink and clothes. If these could be made the first charge on our national revenues it will not solve the problem. It is true that most of these tribes lack even these primal needs. But the tribes have other values too and views on life represented and preserved by their tribal institutions.

Our first problem then, will be to recognise these institutions, resuscitate them and utilize them in our future administration of the tribal Nadus. This may seem an astounding proposition considering that the tribesmen are illiterate, dispossessed and almost in the nursery even in the matter of finding their own bread. It is not suggested that a tribal panchayat should straightaway be put in charge of the adminstration. The emphasis is on tribal solidarity and corporate sense which do exist and can be consulted though it will certainly take a long time before a tribesman makes a bid for the I. C. S. In view of the backwardness of the tribes, a really efficient adminstrative machinery will be necessary but that machinery should have as its main object the training of the corporate body of tribesmen to associate themselves with measures calculated for their betterment instead of viewing them with the wonted suspicion as other new impositions. Confidence should be gained before ameliorative measures are welcomed.

The next problem will be to restore to the tribesmen what was taken away from them, viz., the resources of the hills and forests.

The forests are the Government's monopoly and do not, therefore, present any difficulty. The Zamindari forests may not long remain so and can be taken over by the Government. The real difficulty will be with the plantations and estates owned by private owners. The Toda must get back his pastures; the Paniyan and Kurumba the forests and the coffee and pepper, the Male Kudiya his due share of the cardamom, the Pulayan, Muduvan, Malasar and Kadan, his share of the Tea, and the timber. "Expropriators must be expropriated" is inevitable here and, if anything in this province deserves to be nationalised, these should be. The expropriation may be gradual and in proportion to the requirements of the tribes.

In the case of certain tribes in the plains like the Korava, Lambadi and Enadi, the land problem is acute and requires immediate redress.

In the Chittoor district where an Enadi Reclamation Scheme is working, lands were obtained from Zamindars for Enadi Colonies. Such colonisation is possible in many places.

The third problem is the control of contacts with plainsmen which is inevitable. In fact, it must be furthered. It will not do any more to isolate the tribes and treat them apart from the main community. The tribesmen are to-day far too ignorant to take to agriculture, dairy farming or other industries on their own: We are fortunate in this province in that there is more land and other resources in our tribal areas than the tribesmen can manage even if their population multiplied tenfold. Plainsmen may therefore come up and settle down and share the life of the hills with the tribemen. There is no fear of the tribesmen being outstripped by "land grabbing plainsmen" as most writers, so far, have said. Land-grabbing can be prevented and the schemes for colonisation controlled.

The plainsmen's attitude to the hillmen to-day follows upon his attitude to the hills and forests. They look upon them as mines and treasures to which access may be had through permits secured from the monopolists – the Government or the Zamindar. The enterprising ones of the cities have of late begun the floating of

oint stock companies for the purposes. They will employ importedj modern machinery and employ as much labour as is necessary for extracting timber etc. and reaching them to the ports This is becoming fasionable and called "business" and "industrialising of the Country".

These schemes take no account of the tribesmen, nor of the upkeep of the forests themselves. This method of exploitation of forests is more destructive than the Podu of the hillmen. There is much more to be had from the forests than these momentary profiteerings by a few. The forests and hills can nourish large agricuitural and pastoral communities. The minerals afford scope for industrial settlements. That is how the old Kurinji and Mullai prospered. The Agaria, Kamri and Irula of the past throve on such industries. They had produced steel which was the envy of other nations and will yet do it if given a chance.

However, in view of the present state of the tribes, people have often got riddled into a vicious circle in which the development of these vast areas and the development of the tribesmen follow one upon the other. Either the one or the other has been attempted so far with doubts, fears and compunctions. We would develop the forests but we would allow Podu also. We would license and encourage the Jenmies and Planters and we would also shed tears over the living corpses of Paniyans, Kudiyans, Todans etc. Like the lazy or wicked '*Dayi*' we would administer sedatives to the tribesmen. Physicians were not wanting who would approve of this.

Sir G. T, H. Bracken with his considerable experience of the northern agencies declared in 1926 "beyond giving hill tribes reasonable protection against the devices of the sowcar, the less they are cossetted and the more they are treated as ordinary intelligent beings, the better." It needs some humility on our part, some respect towards the tribes to treat them as ordinary intelligent beings. The patronising air which results in the "cosseting" is certainly not relished by the tribesmen themselves. The starved and naked Beta Kurumban showed contemptuous indifference to inquiries into his misery. He knows the inquiries lead no where; he senses the assumed superiority of the inquirer; and he knows the inquirer belongs to the class of deserters and usurpers.

We have now to adopt a definite policy and put it through with a determination. There shall be no "Laissez-Faire," and we should not rely as Mr. Symington has said, on the forces of time and example "which may postpone improvement till the Greek kalends". Example, we shall certainly provide, but such example, as does not puzzle the tribesmen and make him feel inferior when he is really not so.

In the note on the Chenchus, it has been said that the problem of the Chenchu is the problem of the Nallamalas. This applies to all tribes with reference to areas which they inhabit. It will be realised that national interests require the revival of the Mullai and Kurinji as also the regeneration of many Palai regions. It has been shown that the present state of the Mullai and Kurinji is due to desertion of these regions by communities which once belonged there, owing to political and economic causes. It is also due to the present "closed door" or "dog in the manger" policy regarding these regions. In a way, this policy has not been an unmixed evil. "The closed door" has helped to save the tribal institutions from the madness prevalent in the plains. Here then, we can build on really Hindu foundations and present models of Village self-sufficiency for the plainsmen to follow. The last may now be the first. The "closed Door" must now be opened and development of these areas commenced. Such development cannot, in the national interest, wait for the tribesmen in their "parks" and "enclosures" to get educated to undertake the development solely by themselves and for themsevles. The unopened tracts are too huge for the tribesmen even if they are educated up to it, to manage. The sparse population in these areas will bear this out. Also, it is contrary to national interests and purposes to admit of the sole right of the tribesmen. When we own them they must own us too. It is in the manner in which we own them that care and control are necessary.

We have then to bear in mind the following factors :—

1. The susceptibilities of the tribesmen, the slightest disregard of which is bound to lead to lack of confidence, inferiority complex, depression and decay.

2. The usefulness of their institutions many of which are worth preserving and emulating.

3. Their famished condition, the eradication of which alone, will make them physically fit and mentally alert.

The total absence of medical aid may be added to these. It is absurd to watch a merry Koya dance or play with a pretty unknowing Toda and declare "how happy they are". We know the pavement dwellers of the City of Madras can exhibit and afford such merriment. That, after all, is comparable to the "hope" in man—the Holy Ghost that asserts itself through the smile, even whilst on the cross or under a crown of thorns.

4. The possibility of exploitation of some kind when huge tracts of unopened country are thrown open.

5. The unsuitability of the ordinary officials of the plains for work in tribal areas. It is a few of these that are fascinated or even momentarily impressed by the scenery and scope for sport that these areas provide in abundance. Even they do not extend their contacts with tribes people beyond the needs of sport. A small number who have taken a real interest have not stayed owing to exigencies of service.

With these factors in mind and duly recognised and provided for, the doors may be opened; but that alone will not result in a rush for some time to come.

There are three deterrents which operate against reviving the old Mullai and Kurinji.

The first is Malaria which has been partly at least, the cause of the people deserting these regions. It has been shown in the Araku Valley of the Vizagapatam district that Malaria can be not merely controlled, but, may even be eradicated in the worst areas.

There are of course. many plainsmen who will risk even this Malaria since they are no better off in the plains. Such are the Valmikis and the like who are not the type that can be expected to be the proper examples to the tribesmen. It is the ryots of the plains and educated young men who turn to agriculture, and pastoral, forest and mining industries that will be the welcome ones. The ryot, even if uneducated, has a religious mode, a caste sense and truthfulness that make him a very social and sociable element.

The educated young ones can be useful as guides and guardians against the anti-social elements which have already crept in. Here, again, we have to guard against persons connected with propagandist associations who have, in recent years, indulged in some unintelligent and irresponsible propaganda. In fact, some of them have agitated for extension of Podu cultivation without knowing what it is. Some have harrangued from platforms against Mokhasadars and induced the hillsmen to a "no-tax" campaign.

A selection of these new colonists is necessary for the first ten years at least and only those who are willing to and are fit to settle down to a life on the hills along with the tribesmen should be selected.

The second deterring factor is the lack of communication. Railways and roads have hitherto followed the lines of strategy different from what may now be considered worth while. Hereafter, they may serve the needs of the people. Improvements of communications should be taken up at once and on the largest possible scale. It will pay in the long run to have solid highways, laid through these tracts.

The third is the forest policy of the Government and the Zamindars. It will ultimately be more profitable to allow free grazing of cattle and encourage pastoral communities in the forests. In almost every hill and forest area of the province, land fit for agriculture is available in plenty. The Forest department has made small beginnings with some forest tribes — the Sholagas and the Chenchus — by way of encouraging them to settle down to agriculture and pasture. But the fact is that the Department grants these concessions in lieu of some service expressly or implicitly or even mistakenly understood as necessary. These services are, of course required, but they should be socially organised services and not haphazard cooly work.

The question whether the tribal areas are to be placed under the normal provincial administration or partially excluded from it, as now, need not delay us. The benefits that were "to flow" when

the areas were firstly scheduled and later partially excluded have not appreared. The saving from standardized procedure and the common law has been a mere myth; there has been neither quick justice nor prompt action; it has been inaction, if anything. The protection from the Hindu is a vain plea as long as the forests and hills are left to exploitation by the planters and contractors who are either Europeans or Hindus of the plains. A partial or complete exclusion of these areas is not necessary. But. in view of the fact that the tribal areas have merely remained as huge annexes to huge districts divisions or taluqs where most of the attention of the district officials is taken up by the immediate plains only, a reallocation of these areas in seperate administrative units – taluqs, districts etc. is necessary.

In the notes on the various tribes, such units have been indicated and even named anew in some cases. They are listed below for ready reference showing the tribes concerned and the present administrative districts affected.

Territory	Tribes	Districts Affected
1	2	3
1. Jakara Nadu	Jatapu, Sora	Vizagapatam
2. Bagata Nadu	Bagata, Gadaba, Konda, Kui, Poroja etc.	Vizagapatnam
3. Koya Nadu	Koya – Reddi	East and West Godavari districts
4. Nallamala	Chenchu	Karnool and Guntur districts
5. Irula Nadu	Enadi – Irula	*Chittoor:*– all hills and forests in the eastern taluqs *Nellore:*– The Venkatagiri forests and Sriharikota *Chingleput:*– Kambakkam and other forest areas of the north and the coast line

1	2	3
		South Arcot:– The Gingee area forests and the coast line *North Arcot:*– The Gudiyatam hills and forests adjoining Chittoor
6. Malanadu	Malaiyali	Salem, South Arcot, North Arcot, Trichinopoly
7. Nilagiri	Toda, Kota, Kurumba, Irula, Sholaga, Urali	Nilgiris, Coimbatore, Malabar (Wynaad borders)
8. Anamalai	Muduvan, Malasan, Kadan, Pulayan	Coimbatore, Kollengode hills of Malabar
9. Attapadi	Irular	Malabar
10. Nilambur	Paniyan, Ernadan etc.	Malabar
11. Wynaad	Kurichan, Paniyan, Adiyan, Kurumban	Malabar
12. Chirakkal	Mavilon, Vettuvan, Karimpalan	Malabar
13. Malekkudi Nadu	Malekudiyas, Kudubis, Mahrattis, Koragas	South Kanara, Neriya and Shishila ghats – the forests of Udipi and Kundapur taluqs–parts of Kasaragode
14. Palnis	Paliyan – Pulayan	Madura
15. Periyar	Paliyan, Muduvan, Mannan	Madura
16. Marava Nadu	Maravas, Kallar	Madura

Besides these the Koravas and Lambadis who are scattered require to be settled in the areas indicated in the note on those tribes. Lands are available and all unoccupied lands should be reserved in the concerned areas for utilisation in the scheme for the tribes. Forests from tbe main item of natural resources in most of there areas. There are also pastures, plantations, agricultural lands, and

mines. All these belong to various owners now and different systems of tenure prevail which are all exotic and have been super imposed on the indigenous system of communal control which is appropriate in the present state of the tribes. Even the ryotwari tenure as it prevails contains elements which make for disintegration and has already disintegrated the village societies of the plains. These should be avoided. The ownership and control of all natural resources by these tribes should be reestablished and when it is done these areas will be ahead of the plains in social, economic and political development. The tribesman in his present state, does not know who governs him. He will begin to know only when he is consulted and when his lost possessions are restored to him. It is, therefore, necessary to devise a certain measure of autonomy for these areas. Such autonomy need not take them out of the ordinary administration as it is or as it eventually may be. It is true that the tribes are not yet fit for managing their affairs, and the executive will certainly have to carry on, for quite long, on ordained lines in the interests of the tribesmen. Even so, there is here, an excellent opportunity for realising our cherished hope of solid village communities.

The tribal institutions will be the nuclei around which the new communes may build up their new social organisation and local administration. The new colonists must here be patient with the tribal backwardness for a brief period and they will soon find that they have as much to learn as they have to give. The tribal institutions must be conserved. It is in this respect that control is necessary.

Fears will be foolish and hesitation ultimately become criminal negligence, for now is the time to reconstruct and here is the field, virgin and fertile enough, to give immediate and fruitful returns.

A separate ministry and a new department for the reclamation and development of the Kurinji and Mullai areas should be created. The reclamation work should aim at a resuscitation of the communes of tribesmen now living in these areas and the introduction of such new elements as will conform without hesitation to the tribal insti-

tutions in socio-economic affairs. The caste observances of the new comer shall not be imposed on the tribes-people; tribal habits and practices shall be respected and allowed free play. As much of the new element shall be introduced as is consistent with requirements for the development of the resources of the areas with due regard, of course, to an increase of population in the future.

The primary administrative unit shall be the village commune. The tribal panchayat shall be the governing body. A welfare officer appointed by the Government shall be the Executive Officer administering all affairs concerning land, forest, pastures, industries etc. All departments of Government should work through him. In the areas where the Muta system prevails the Mutadar himself may be the executive officer, if found fit.

A single village if it is big enough and a geographical entity by itself, may make a unit; otherwise, the usual small scattered groups of huts within definable topographical limits may be taken as a unit. The panchayat shall be elected by means already in vogue among the tribes. Usually, it is a council of elders. The new comers shall be represented too, but they shall join deliberations only in an advisory capacity and shall not vote on any issue. The proceedings of the panchayat shall be noted in as simple a form as possible.

The matters to be decided by the Panchayat will be :—

(a) The assignment and distribution of land and collection of land revenue.

(b) Allotment of work on public works-channels, roads, buildings and in forests (regeneration)

(c) The working of forest coupes and collection of forest produce.

(d) Sanitary measures-the dispensary and maternity ward; anti-malarial operations; water supply etc.

(e) The dairy.

(f) The schools. — the boys' school and the girls' school.

A brief explanation of each these items is given below :—

(a) Survey and settlement of all the lands (including Zamindar) not yet surveyed, should be undertaken at once. Until then, the existing Muta rate per plough or per hut may be charged. In the survey and settlement, the fields will be marked in plots of sizes not exceeding 4 acres each; existing fragmentary holdings should not be marked as such unless they form separate plots. The fields will be alloted on patta by the panchayat. Only those who actually cultivate shall be landholders. Alienation to persons who are not members of the commune shall be prohibited. When a pattadar ceases to cultivate he shall surrender the patta when the panchayat may and shall allot the land to another cultivator. The rent for land shall be charged in kind and shall be a sixth of the produce. The collection of land revenue should be the function of the panchayat through the welfare officer.

In the plantation districts, the acquiring of some plantations may be necessary. Many tribes are now coolies in plantations and their conditions are bad. It will, however, be iniquitous and dangerous to take it up as a mere labour problem and negotiate with the planters and others on that basis. What is needed is a restoration to the tribesmen of their sense of ownership and independence. With some imagination on their part, the planters may join the new communes and share its life. Otherwise acquisition according to communal needs will be inevitable.

(b) All public works will be carried out by the panchayat with the labour of the commune. There shall be no contractor but the Engineer or Forest Officer will prescribe the work to be done and supervise. A channel or a road, for instance, can be estimated for both in cash as per the schedule rates and also in the cooly units required. It will be the task of the panchayat to get the work done. The relevant cash will be credited to the Welfare Department by the Public works Department. In the same way all regeneration work in the forests will be estimated for and accomplished.

(c) The forests are now being exploited by the Forest Department through a system of lease to contractors by open

auction or negotiation. The Department has two functions now: one is the conservation of forests and the other is the exploitation and finding revenues for the Government. It is needless to point out that the one conflicts with the other. Sylviculture, like agriculture, is a science. The Forest Department should confine itself to the scientific regeneration of the forests and laying out the working plans. The Commercial side should not distract them. That side conçerns solely the communities which reside in those areas. and depend on the natural resources there for their very existence. The academic sylviculturist cannot appreciate the everyday needs of such a community. He only knows that wages and profits are sought after; that illicit fellings go on; and that villagers always complain about the zulm of forest officials. The social and economic aspects involved and therefore, the political too, can best be studied and understood by a separate department which initiates its aspect of the problem from the point of view of the people. An analogy may be found in the agricultural and irrigation departments *vis a vis* the Revenue Department. When, then the sylviculture department has made its working plans and allocated the areas that are fit for exploitation, the new Development department mav proceed to exploit them departmentally through its communes. The Sylviculture department has also a lot of regeneration work to do and all their operations may be undertaken by the new department as in the previous paragraph. The present Forest Department may very usefully concentrate on regeneration work which, when the Zamindari forests are taken over. will be a lot to do.

The exploitation of forsests by the new department will be purely departmental. There shall be no contractors and auction of forest produce, if any, will be at the depots in the plains. This will also facilitate averaging of prices of forest products throughout the province.

(d) Protected drinking water and bathing facilities are absolutely essential. It is incorrect to say that the tribes-people want to be dirty. Bathing is quite a normal animal function and the tribesmen have the same weakness for it as others have. In spite

of the many hill streams suitable facilities do not exist for making a habit of it.

Malaria must be fought and at once on all fronts. Any delay in this will amount courting a national disaster.

Maternity wards are necessary. All but a few tribes pay attention to the woman in confinement. Modern paraphernalia in regard to midwifery and nursing have rendered these two essential services prohibitive in their costs in addition to supplanting a traditional homely class by a city-bred, fashionable class with an exotic and almost snobbish attitude. The traditional midwives or other suitable women in the village areas should be given training and be attached to the dispensary. Child Welfare will be their daily routine and this shall not be done at a centre but the nurse will visit each house.

A dispensary shall exist for each village commune; it shall be furnished with the requirements for first aid, maternity and Quinine and other standard medicines. For every 20 villages, there shall be a Medical Officer with a small hospital of a dozen beds. Here again, simplicity and utility should be aimed at. The doctor should constantly tour the villages and be responsible for prescribing the measures of sanitation, the work of midwives and nurses, etc.

(c) It is a revival of the "Mullai" that shall be the main object of this reclamation. The pastures shall then receive the greatest consideration. Many of the tribes are really averse to agriculture but cattle breeding and dairy farming on sound and even elaborate lines will not merely help the communities living here but will also be a most necessary and useful complement to the agriculture in the deltas and other arts and crafts of the plains. I have mentioned the partiality for cattle on the part of the Lambadi and the Kallar, the piety with which the Toda venerates the buffalo and even the Chenchu's recent prosperity on the Ghee trade. The Ongole and Sindhi breeds should be concentrated upon for purpose of milk, Kangayam for draught. The Sindhi–Kangayam cross bred seems to be a good milker. The lost Punganur breed may yet be revived.

The Livestock department should concentrate in the tribal areas. There should be a veterinary doctor for every 20 villages and he should be responsible not merely for the health of the animals but for popularising animal husbandry and dairy farming in each village. A dairy shall exist in each village and all available milk bought in and converted to milk–products. A cream separator will do here and the cream and skimmed milk will be despatched to the Peța where the further processing of cream into butter and ghee and the milk into milk–powder, casein sugar, etc. may be carried on.

(f) The Dangadi Basas and Pundugar Chavidis where they exist should be availed of for this purpose. The maids' hall should become the girls' school, and the vagabonds' chavadi referred to before, become the boys' school. The schools should teach crafts and not merely the three "r"s. It will be possible to find suitable teachers from among the new settlers. The girls' school should teach the women's arts and crafts:

(1) Cooking of standard dishes, cakes, making pickles, appalams, vadams, etc., (2) Spinning, (3) Needle work, etc., (4) Looking after cows, milking them and collection of cow dung for the manure heap, (5) Nursing and (6) Singing and dancing.

At the boys' school carding and spinning will be taught to all. There shall be not more than two looms kept working as a demonstration to the boys, a carpenter's shop and a blacksmithy in villages where such looms or shops are not run by private individuals. A small farm will be attached to the school and an agricultural maistry will be in charge and cultivate 4 acres of land. Other cottage industries as suitable will all be taught and demonstrated at the school itself, but none of these, should be undertaken if there is anyone in the village already pursuing that industry. The school shall not be allowed to compete with individual artisans.

The village commune will correspond more or less to the familiar "Muta" of the northern agencies. The existing Mutas in these areas may be taken up with slight re-allocations. The Mutadars where they exist can be the Presidents of the Panchayats. Similarly, the

Gamang, the Ur Gounden, Nattamaikaran, Kolkaran, Patel, etc. can all be fitted in as functionaries in the new communes. A village police may be formed out of these elements.

The commune may be called the Grama, a name which may be taken to signify its autonomous state. A number of Gramas – say 30 – may make a taluqa. A taluq panchayat elected from the Grama Panchayats at one member per Grama; may have the following functions :—

1. The maintenance and administration of a warehouse and stores.
2. The maintenance and administration of a granary.
3. A Credit and Savings Bank.
4. A hospital,
5. A veterinary centre.
6. Agricultural demonstration farm.
7. Anti-Malarial Centre.
8. Police Station.
9. As a Court of Justice in small causes and as a jury in others.
10. A Sylviculture farm with a Forest Range Officer.
11. Sericulture farm, and
12. Engineering Supervisor,

Short notes on some of the above items are given below:—

Warehouse :

There shall be a warehouse for each taluk into which all produce-produced or collected-by everyone in the commune will be received and credited in the name of the producer. The warehouse products will be sold by the department. There shall also be a stores in which all consumers goods including the articles specially fancied by tribesmen are available. The warehouse shall have an industrial section. The warehouse shall be in charge of a Senior Welfare officer It will commence its work with Khadi and

Handloom weaving and then go on to other rural crafts. The work must be carried out in the villages and the warehouse is only a training, directing and collecting centre. A few items may however, be carried out at the warehouse — e, g., carding of cotton and making into slivers for hand spinning may be done here and slivers distributed to the villages. Hides, skins and bones may be collected in the villages but the manufactures from them may be done at the warehouse or other suitable centre. Dyeing of yarn according to the weavers' demands may be done at the warehouse— even warping of yarn, if needed. But the warehouse should, in no event, be allowed to become a factory of employers and employees and the decentralisation idea should never be forgotten. If, for instance, the tannery grows into more than an instructional unit it should be moved off to a village.

The industries that the warehouse may instruct on and direct are: (1) Hand spinning and Khadi weaving, (2) weaving of mill yarn on handlooms, (3) weaving of carpets, dhurrees, tape, (4) hides and skins—collection and tanning, if suitable, (5) mats and baskets, (6) ropes and cordage, (7) Dairy products, (8) bone-crushing, (9) lime kilns, (10) collection of surface minerals like lime stone, magnesite, emery, barytes, China clay, red oxide, ochres etc. — the monopolies in respect of these being cancelled, (11) Nira tapping and jaggery making, (12) Paddy husking-not milling, (13) oil extracting and soaps-improved Ghani, (14) pottery, ceramic ware-improved wheel, moulding and Jigger & Jolley and a communal furnace at the warehouse, (15) paper, cardboard — quarter-stuff in the villages, half-stuff at the warehouse, paper lifting in the villages and finishing at the ware-house, (16) building materials, (17) forest industries, (18) carpentry and blacksmithy, (19) sheet - metal work-beating on moulds, cutlery, buttons toys, etc., and (20) bee-keeping, poultry-farming.

The warehouse will instruct and direct these industries, provide raw materials, afford credit facilities-not cash but grains, Khadi or other article.

The warehouse will have to make a profit on all transactions, but in no event, should the warehouse be allowed to become a

monopolist; if the functions performed by the warehouse can be done by the businessmen in the villages, the ware-house functions themselves should be de-centralised and individual enterprise encouraged; the warehouse will, however, continue to be a check on exploitation on however small a scale. The warehouse itself shall not function as philanthropic institution but as an active worker taking a hand in production.

Granary:

A granary for paddy, ragi, samai, etc. with a capacity for a two years' supply for the commune shall exist and be managed by the panchayat. The granary shall be filled up in the following ways :-

(a) Land Revenue.

(b) Purchases at current rates from the villagers.

(c) In exchange for commodities sold at the stores.

(d) By import from outside.

The granary is intended as an insurance against famine and stocks of grains shall be replaced, sold out or kept in accordance with private stocks held by villagers, the perishability of the grains etc.

Grant of loans etc:

The Sowcar is the only agency in many tribal areas affording the sort of credit facilities required by the tribesmen. It is often a very small cash or seed advance that goes to create an agelong bondage of the tribesman to the Sowcar. In some places, Podu is indulged in not so much for personal gain but for the sake of clearng off the never ending arrears. In Jakara Nadu especially, much of the indiscriminate Podu is induced by the Sowcar.

The Sowcar may be eliminated and a moratoriun declared. But, unless a new system of credit facilities is immediately established, the evil is bound to reappear again in some other form. There are in the tribal areas, now, persons who will soon take the place of the plains Sowcar. The Valmiki exploiting his compartriots in Bagata Nadu is an instance. When the new colonists appear, the scope for this evil will become even greater. All private lending should therefore be subjected to a penalty.

The proposed bank should be able to give not merely cash loans but also its equivalents in commodities from the stores or the granary. Repayment of loan should be possible not merely in cash but in commodities, produced or manufactured, along with a suitable interest. When Khadi spinning and other handicrafts get established the interest shall be payable only in such articles. The senior welfare officer will be in charge of this.

What is recommended is Cooperation cum insurance — but the usual cooperative society is unsuitable for tribal areas. We have seen its failures even in the plains for the simple reason that the whole cooperative movement has been a futile attempt to build from the top. Most cooperative societies which take credit today for their flourishing state are nothing more than joint stock companies run by a few managing agents. Cooperation becomes a farce when the constituents grow into an unmanageable number. A small community with common interest will automotically evolve a common policy if they are at liberty to do so in the manner they are used to and through institutions which they comprehend and can run. Such an institution is their own Kula Panchayat or village panchayat. The commune will understand this and we must, therefore, revive this panchayat and get the panchayat to perform all the reclamation and reconstruction that we desire. The tribesmen as stated already, are not unintelligent. They are just dazed and desperate at seeing that their " will " counts for nothing in the larger scheme of things which association with plainsmen presents before them. When they know their " will " counts, they may be expected to see that they labour towards the common good. We have up till now indulged in regimentation through our forest policy and salved our conscience by 'doles' of a sort. We may now commence taking account of the human element in the tribesmen.

Court of Justice.

The usefulness of the tribal panchayat is likely to be seen best in the matter of administering civil justice among the tribes. It is commonly complained by observers that the application of the Hindu Law leads to hardships. No such cases have come to notice in this province. The dictum of the Privy Council is: " under the

Hindu system of law, clear proof of usage outweighs the written text of the law". If usage is to be proved, the tribal panchayat is the best body to assess it and advise the presiding judge. Trial by jury may begin here at once and the tribes may be ahead of the plains in this respect. The panchayat jury deciding on each issue will keep in line with the changes that may take place in the tribal habits and in the tribal conscience as the tribes progress. In course of time, enough case law will be available to enable a clear definition of tribal law. Such definition will be more satisfactory than an arbitrary noting down of tribal customs and compiling a law on the authority of a specially deputed agency or commission. In the first place, it is a very difficult task; and secondlv, it will only result in a rigid compilation which the tribesmen themselves may not understand and find difficult to adhere to as they progress. If, for instance, marriage by capture is recognised to-day, it is only winked at owing to the prevalent social conditions. A few years hence the ideas may change and if marriage by capture gets into the codified law to-day, the future hillmen society will be faced with a law enabling something which they will not approve of.

A senior welfare officer shall be the chief executive officer of the taluk. The initiative and direction will be from the Taluk only until the Gramas have realised their needs and function properly. The actual execution of all works shall be in the Gramas and through the Grama Panchayat and its welfare officer.

A number of Taluks will be grouped into a Nadu which shall correspond to a division of a district. There shall be in each Nadu, the following public servants:

(1) An Assistant Cmmissioner of the Welfare Department, who should co-ordinate the work of all others.
(2) An Engineer.
(3) A Sylvicultural Officer.
(4) A Medical Officer.
(5) Agricultural Officer.
(6) An Assistant Superintendent of Police.
(7) A Munsif — Magistrate.

In course of time, work in the Nadus may grow sufficiently to warrant their sub-division and being set up as districts.

They may remain now within the districts they are attached to, subject to the autonomy of their villages and taluks being maintained.

The Nadus shall be excluded from the District Board or other Local Boards which may come into being in the rest of the district.

The case of Malainadu is an exceptional one. It is now divided up and parcelled out among the four districts, Salem, North Arcot, South Arcot and Trichinopoly. The whole of the Nadu should eventually be a district and, for the present, may be attached as a division to the Salem district. In the alternative, the four district administrations must act in their respective spheres through the Assistant Commissioner of the Nadu.

The "Police" is a very important institution anywhere and, in areas like these, need a lot of attention in regard to personnel and functions. The potentialities of this great force, in the field of reclamation and reconstruction are rarely understood and realised. I have referred to this in my note on Enadis. We must have a good police organised on lines suitable to the scheme above outlined. A mere criminal hunting or traffic checking police will not do. We want a police who are not merely friends of the people but who actually educate the people to healthy and prosperous citizenship. The police in these areas may be organised on such lines and, for that purpose, they should be separate from the ordinary district police. We cannot wait till the general police change and, therefore, the police units in these areas shall be attached to a special Deputy Inspector General's range apart from the ordinary Deputy Inspector Generals. The police may well be the welfare department.

Prohibition of arraq should be introduced at once. Tapping of palmyrah for Nira and conversion into jaggery should be encouraged even by payment of a premium, which may be anything from a good meal for the family per day of work.

The irrigation works required are small projects but they are urgently needed. When they are done, Podu, even in the Agency

areas, will stop automatically. All but the Soras use the plough even in their Podu and the Sora too will take to it.

Recruitment of tribesmen for the Police, Forest and Revenue departments should be postponed till the conmunes get established. At the beginning they should be employed as maistries and policemen within the communes.

As already indicated, non-tribesmen should conform to the tribes' ways as far as they are unobjectionable and live with the tribesmen.

A moratorium of all existing debts in the tribal areas seems imminently necessary.

Electricity will really be a boon and immensely helpful in the development of these areas. It may not be too much in this era of poor man's budgets to ask for extensions of Mettur and Pykara power to tribal areas in the south and for the establishment of thermal stations in the north, pending the Duduma and Tungabhadra projects.

In all agricultural operations the commune shall work together and the panchayat shall secure the labour of the whole commune during transplantation and harvest.